



THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVIII

JANUARY, 1934

NO. 2

CONTENTS

Outstanding Architects in St. Louis Between 1804 and 1904....	83
JOHN A. BRYAN	
Merry-Making in Missouri in the Old Days.....	91
MONAS N. SQUIRES	
Abiel Leonard, Part V.....	103
FREDERIC A. CULMER	
Joseph B. McCullagh, Part XIV.....	125
WALTER B. STEVENS	
Missouriana.....	130
Historical Notes and Comments.....	143
Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks.....	166



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The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. It is sent free to all members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Membership dues in the Society are \$1.00 a year. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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OUTSTANDING ARCHITECTS IN ST. LOUIS BETWEEN 1804 AND 1904

BY JOHN A. BRYAN

The first architect of record in St. Louis was GABRIEL PAUL. Born of wealthy parents in San Domingo, in 1781, he and his elder brother, Rene, were sent to France for their higher education. Coming to Saint Louis in 1817, Gabriel Paul soon met and married Louise Chouteau, daughter of Col. Auguste Chouteau. In 1818 he designed the first cathedral of any architectural pretensions in this section, it being a brick structure situated at Second and Walnut Streets, on the same plot now occupied by the stone building that is known as the Church of St. Louis of France. He also designed the Berthold Mansion at Fifth and Pine, in 1821—a brick house in the Maryland fashion. Gabriel Paul and Bartholomew Berthold had both lived in Baltimore for a time before coming to St. Louis. Mr. Paul died in 1845, leaving his three children a large estate. An interesting old monument marks his lot in Calvary Cemetery.

The first firm of architects west of the Mississippi was that of MORTON AND LAVEILLE in St. Louis. GEORGE MORTON was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland and came to St. Louis about 1822 when he was thirty-two years old. Soon thereafter he entered into partnership with JOSEPH LAVEILLE a native of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania who had come here a year earlier. They designed the first Episcopal Church west of the Mississippi, a brick building which stood at the Northwest corner of Third and Chestnut. In 1826 they designed a brick courthouse, with a semi-circular Ionic portico, that building occupying the west side of Fourth Street between Market and Chestnut,—the eastern half of the square set aside by Auguste Chouteau and J. B. C. Lucas for courthouse purposes. In 1828 they built the first structures at Jefferson Barracks. In 1834 they completed the Catholic Cathedral at Second and Walnut which still stands.

JOSEPH LAVEILLE died in 1842 but the location of his grave is unknown. He was probably buried in the old St. Vincent's Cemetery at Park and Jefferson, since he was alderman from the South Ward at the time of his death. He also served as street commissioner from 1823 to 1826. His son, Theodore Laveille, was president of the company that operated the first Southern Hotel in St. Louis.

GEORGE MORTON died in January, 1865 and is buried in Bellefontaine, his lot being enclosed with an interesting iron fence.

OLIVER A. HART, a native of Norwich, Connecticut, came to St. Louis in 1837. He designed the first building for Centenary Methodist Church, South, at Broadway and Pine, the Second Baptist Church, S. W. Corner Sixth and Locust; First Presbyterian Church, 14th and Locust; and Walnut Street Presbyterian Church, 16th and Walnut. In later years he engaged in the railroad business, being a director of the Missouri Pacific, and left a large fortune when he died at his Lucas Place home in St. Louis, in 1898. He is buried in Bellefontaine, Block 86.

JOHN F. MITCHELL, born at Ripley, Ohio in 1816, came to St. Louis in 1829 where he learned the business of designing and erecting buildings from his uncle, Stuart Matthews, who did much of the early Catholic work in St. Louis. Mr. Mitchell was president of the Architectural Society of St. Louis in the early 1870's. Among the Catholic churches which he designed were St. Bridget's, erected in 1859 at Jefferson and Carr and still in use; the Immaculate Conception, built in 1853 at Eighth and Chestnut and torn down in 1874 when work on the tunnel endangered its walls; and St. Joseph's second building, erected at the N. E. Corner of 11th and Biddle in 1866. Mr. Mitchell reared a large family of sons and daughters, many of whom still live in St. Louis. He is buried in Calvary Cemetery, Sec. 14.

ROBERT S. MITCHELL, younger brother of John F., was born in Kentucky in 1821 and came to St. Louis in the early 1840's. He married his cousin, Eleanor Matthews, daughter of Stuart Matthews, mentioned previously. Robert Mitchell

was the architect of the old Mercantile Library building, erected in 1854 at the S. W. corner Broadway and Locust and which stood there until razed in 1887 to make way for the present Library building. The hall of the old Library was the place where most of the concerts, lectures and other public entertainments were given in St. Louis from 1854 to about 1870. From 1851 to 1856 Mr. Mitchell was the architect on the St. Louis Courthouse, at Broadway and Market. In August, 1862 he sailed for Europe, and in April, 1863 when returning on the "Anglo-Saxon", a storm wrecked the ship and he was lost at sea.

LUCAS BRADLEY was another of the early architects who has been almost forgotten. He designed the first home of the Second Presbyterian Church, at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Walnut, in 1840. It was used until June, 1868, and of all the early churches in St. Louis it was the best—the Doric portico and the graceful steeple comparing favorably with any of those done by Sir Christopher Wren. Lucas Bradley must have gone to some other city to continue his practice, for his name is not found again in connection with any of the early buildings here.

WILLIAM RUMBOLD first came into prominence in St. Louis as the architect of Central High School, at the N. E. corner 15th and Olive, which was built in 1855. Mr. Rumbold was also the final architect on the old courthouse, and the present dome is his design. It being of cast iron and of unusual construction, Mr. Rumbold obtained a patent for his design; and when in 1864 the United States Government was preparing plans for a cast iron dome for the National Capitol Mr. Rumbold was asked to come to Washington for consultation on that work. He is buried in Bellefontaine, Block 90.

THOMAS WARYNG WALSH was born in Kilkenny, Ireland on July 15, 1826, the son of William Walsh, an architect there. He received his training in the office of William Dean Butler in Dublin; and came to America in 1846. Mr. Walsh designed the first Lindell Hotel building; the O'Fallon Polytechnic School at the S. W. corner Seventh and Chestnut which housed the first school of architecture in Missouri; the old Four

Courts Building at 11th and Clark; St. John's Catholic Church, still standing at 16th and Chestnut; and the present Federal Building at 8th and Olive. He died in March, 1890 and is buried in Calvary, Section 14.

FRANCIS D. LEE was born in Charleston, South Carolina in 1826. He was graduated from Charleston College and pursued the practice of architecture in his native city until the outbreak of the Civil war, when he entered the Confederate army and was an officer on the staff of General Beauregard. Major Lee was the inventor of the torpedo boat, and after the close of the war, was invited to visit France by the then Emperor Napoleon III. Returning to America in 1866, he came to Saint Louis and soon thereafter entered into partnership with Thomas B. Annan—the firm continuing until Major Lee's death in 1885. Lee & Annan designed two of the best buildings in the old downtown section of St. Louis—the Merchant's Exchange at Third and Chestnut; and the Roe Building at Broadway and Pine. Major Lee is buried in Bellefontaine, Block 29.

THOMAS B. ANNAN was the first of the early St. Louis architects who was a native here—1837 being the year of his birth. Reference has already been made to the work done by the firm Lee & Annan; and after the death of Major Lee, Mr. Annan designed the large residence for Samuel Cupples on West Pine Boulevard, completed in 1890 at a cost of more than one-half million dollars. He also designed the Methodist Orphans' Home on Maryland Avenue, near Newstead,—Mr. Cupples being the outstanding layman of the Southern Methodist Church in St. Louis then. Mr. Annan's death occurred in 1904, and he is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, near Kirkwood.

CHARLES H. PECK was born in New York City in 1817 and came to St. Louis in 1838. Having received his training with various architects in New York, he launched into that line of work in St. Louis, and from 1848 to about 1854 was in partnership with George I. Barnett. In the late 1850's he withdrew from the profession and engaged in the manu-

facture of iron and steel; still later engaging in the building of western railroads with Daniel Garrison of St. Louis. Amassing a large fortune, he became in later years a frequent client of his former partner, Mr. Barnett. Mr. Peck built the first home in Vandeventer Place more than sixty years ago, and it is still occupied by two of his daughters. His death occurred in 1899, and he is buried in Bellefontaine, Block 82.

HENRY G. ISAACS was born in Philadelphia in 1840 and was educated at Trinity College in New York City. After his graduation he entered the office of Richard Upjohn, the foremost Gothic designer in this country during the first half of the nineteenth century. Mr. Isaacs became a member of the American Institute of Architects in 1884, after he had moved to St. Louis. His work includes the present Mercantile Library Building; Church of the Holy Communion, Episcopal, at 28th and Washington; the old Pilgrim Congregational Church, at Ewing and Washington; and the residences of John T. Davis, L. W. Patchen, Joseph G. Chapman and Dwight Collier, all of which were in Lucas Place. Mr. Isaacs died in 1895, and is buried in Bellefontaine, Block 117.

JOHN G. CAIRNS was a native of Scotland and came to St. Louis about 1880. He designed the Presbyterian Church at Sarah and Washington, formerly known as "First" and now named "Giddings Church"; the McLaren residence on Lindell Boulevard; and the buildings for Forest Park University, a girls' school of which his wife, Anna Sneed Cairns was the principal. His death occurred about 1896.

CHARLES B. CLARKE was born in Norwich, Connecticut on April 6, 1836. He studied architecture in Albany, New York and came to St. Louis in 1859. Mr. Clarke designed the buildings for the State Normal School at Cape Girardeau, Missouri; the Central High School and several other buildings at Chillicothe, Missouri; Third Baptist Church at 14th and Clark in St. Louis; the large residence for J. O. Pierce at Chouteau and St. Ange Avenues in St. Louis, which was better known as "Cracker Castle"; and his last work was the Fagin Building, a ten-story structure on Olive street, between 8th and 9th. A study of pictures of that building will show

that Mr. Clarke was several years ahead of the modern school of architectural design who believe that an office building should be mainly of glass. His death occurred in 1899, and he is buried in Bellefontaine, on the Fagin family lot.

FREDERICK W. RAEDER was born in Coblenz, Germany in 1832, and came to St. Louis in 1867. He was architect for the School Board from 1871 to 1873; designed the Church of the Unity, at Park and Armstrong in 1869; the Congregational Church in Webster Groves; St. John's Episcopal Church at Dolman and Hickory Streets; and the Episcopal Orphans' Home on South Grand Avenue. In 1875 he was elected professor of the department of architecture at Washington University, but since an endowment for that department was not forthcoming, he was not able to enter upon his duties.

JEROME B. LEGG was born in Schuyler County, Illinois on November 12, 1838. He came to St. Louis in 1867 and entered the office of George I. Barnett. In 1869 he was engaged to superintend the construction of Centenary Methodist Church, South, which still stands at 16th and Pine, the architect for that building being Thomas Dixon of Baltimore. About 1880 Mr. Legg designed the Exposition Building on Olive Street, between 13th and 14th Streets; and in 1882 he made extensive additions and alterations at the capitol of Missouri, the building there having been designed in 1840 by A. Stephen Hills, an English architect.

PIERCE T. FURBER should be included in this list, although there were few facts available concerning him. During the 1880's he was the St. Louis representative of Peabody and Stearns, the leading architectural firm in Boston during those years. During Mr. Furber's time in St. Louis they designed some outstanding work in this city including the Church of the Messiah, Unitarian, at Locust and Garrison; the Saint Louis Club at Locust and Ewing; the Wayman Crow, Jr., Memorial Gallery of Art at 19th and Locust. Mr. Furber built a home for himself on Lindell Boulevard, east of Vandeventer which in later years was the home of Tom P. Barnett, architect. At his death Mr. Furber willed a considerable part of his library to the St. Louis Architectural Club.

GEORGE INGHAM BARNETT—I have reserved for the last place on this list George Ingham Barnett, the noblest old Roman of them all. Born in Nottingham, England in 1815, he received his training in the office of Sir Thomas Hine in London. In the spring of the year 1839 he came to America, and in the late autumn of that year he arrived in St. Louis. For more than fifty years thereafter Mr. Barnett was the leading architect of St. Louis, and in the entire West for that matter. He was a charter member of the American Institute of Architects when that national body was organized in 1857. The first building which he designed in St. Louis was the old College Church, or Church of St. Francis Xavier at Ninth and Greene Streets, which he in partnership with Stuart Matthews built in 1840. Mr. Barnett later designed the Barnum and Southern Hotels; the Maxwell House in Nashville, Tennessee; the old Chamber of Commerce in St. Louis; the Executive Mansion at Jefferson City, which is still in use; the pretentious country home at Selma Landing on the Mississippi, which is better known as Kennett's Castle; the city residence of General D. M. Frost in St. Louis; Union Methodist Church at 11th and Locust; the old waterworks at Bissell's Point; numerous tombs in Calvary and Bellefontaine Cemeteries; and scores of residences on Lafayette Square, Lucas and Vandeventer Places in St. Louis. In 1868, he began work on the present Illinois Capitol at Springfield, in partnership with Alfred Pinquenard. Moreover he trained his three sons for the profession of architects; the eldest of whom, Absalom, practiced later in San Francisco, while George and Tom were for many years prominent architects in St. Louis. Mr. Barnett was a genial and hospitable man; the intimate friend of Henry Shaw, whose town and country houses he designed; and he was also a close friend of Almerin Hotchkiss, the landscape engineer who planned Bellefontaine Cemetery and maintained it for more than fifty years.

Mr. Barnett's father was a Baptist clergyman in England; and in the later years of his life, George I. Barnett became interested in the Swedenborgian Church when it was organized in St. Louis. His death occurred in St. Louis in December,

1898; and he is buried in Bellefontaine which he helped to beautify by his work.

Editor's Note:—The above paper was prepared and read by Mr. Bryan in connection with the Memorial Day exercises of the St. Louis Chapter, American Institute of Architects in May, 1933. The graves which could be located were decorated with a bronzed replica of the Institute's seal.

MERRY-MAKING IN MISSOURI IN THE OLD DAYS

BY MONAS N. SQUIRES

People of all periods have reserved a part of their time for amusements, and Missourians of the early days were not exceptions. Social customs have changed with the times and the things that gave pleasure to the people of one age may seem odd to those of another generation. Yet through all time and all lands, the games and amusements which brought fellow-folk into common association have given men the greatest enjoyment. It has been the amusement based on group unity which has lasted down through the years.

In turning back over the years of Missouri's colorful history, a study of the emigration of various nationalities to this State shows that each brought with it some contribution in the form of amusement. Each period in the growth of Missouri has been different, yet similarities in customs and amusements have persisted. In Missouri particularly there has been a blending of the amusements of the people who came from different places to make their homes in this State.

Today nearly all of our amusements, and especially those that stress group unity, are but reminders of the past—changed, yes, but fundamentally the same as the amusements that thrilled our great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers.

Missouri has had three great periods of emigration. Each period was marked by the influx of a different people, who brought their own ideas of amusement. Some of these customs have been discarded; others have persisted and still exist, even though they may be varied in their present forms.

THE FRENCH PERIOD

The French and Spanish period in the history of the State came first. The amusements of these people were bits of culture from the old world, transplanted and changed to the

conditions of the new. As only a few Spaniards ever lived in Missouri, it was principally the French who set the standards of gayety.

The French were centered in the early settlements along the Mississippi river, in such places as Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. Theirs were not the robust sports, but they excelled in games of skill. So it was that they were proficient in such games as billiards, whereas the Americans, who came later, loved more vigorous sports such as wrestling, running and hunting.

Dancing was perhaps the most enjoyable of amusements to the French, as well as to the other Missouri pioneers who came after. The children and young people gathered together, usually on Sunday afternoons, and dances were held under the direction of the elder members of the families. Some historians have called these Sunday dances schools for good manners.

In most of the early Missouri French settlements, there was usually a carnival season, which mainly fell in the early part of the year.

A FRENCH CHRISTMAS

Christmas, then and now, was a time of gayety, but many of the customs we associate with this event were unknown to the Missouri French. On Christmas eve, a solemn midnight mass was held. The next day, Christmas morning, was begun with a *revellion*, or Christmas breakfast, according to J. Thomas Scharf, Missouri historian. The rest of Christmas day was devoted to religious services and dancing. For these first Missourians, just as it is today, Christmas was a day of home-coming and reunion.

The Christmas tree was not yet known in the Illinois Country of Upper Louisiana, as Missouri was called in the time of the French. But the children had customs that served the purpose just as well. The French children placed their shoes near the fireplace on Christmas eve, so that when the Christ-Child visited during the night, the shoes would be filled with presents.

Mary Alicia Owen, authority on early Missouri customs, writes that a box was prepared to look like the cavern where Christ was born, and in it were placed figures of the Holy Family, the Magi, their camels, the donkey on which the Madonna rode and the oxen in the stalls. This dramatization of Christ's birthplace was called a "creche" by the French children and a "posada" by the Spanish. The young members of the family in this way were taught the meaning of Christmas.

"LA GUIGNOLEE"

Following closely on Christmas came the French celebration of New Year. On New Year's eve was sung what was known as "La Guignolee". The customs associated with this entertainment have recently been revived in southeastern Missouri.

"La Guignolee" was a jocular song, sung and danced before houses of the settlers by young men dressed in the fantastic costumes of an Indian, negro or clown. The men were masked, and each carried a receptacle in which he expected to carry off some kind of food. After addressing the master and every one in the house, in a "quaint song set to quaint music," "La Guignolee" continued with a solicitation of gifts of every description, including the eldest daughter of the household, and things to eat.

The song then concluded with a promise by the singers to be less frivolous another time, and with the repetition of the first two lines as a chorus. The nature of the occasion and the tone of the song allowed for much clowning on the part of the performers, but back of the practice lay the time-honored custom of lavishing gifts upon the church in return for masses said for those who were absent, at war or at sea. "Guignolee", in French, is the beam of a steelyard—the balance—Scharf explains, and the burden of the song, as he interprets it, was "Give us money, good people, fill the mass-box, so that if any of those poor absent souls shall have perished, they may not turn out to be weighed in the balance and found wanting for lack of a few masses."

At any rate, once the song was finished, the containers which the singers kept at hand were produced and filled with contributions, "but generally such as would be of service towards a coming festival," Scharf observes, such as "sugar, maple sugar, coffee, lard, flour, syrup, eggs," etc.

The next day everyone in the settlement attended mass at daybreak. Immediately following, the children went to their parents for an annual parental blessing. Breakfast followed the blessing, and the rest of the day was spent in visiting.

"BALS DU ROI"

Following the observance of New Year a supper and dance were held on January 6, by these early French, at some selected house in the settlement. A large cake was baked for this event, in which four beans were placed. The cake was cut into small pieces and one given to each girl present. Those who found beans in their slices of cake were designated as queens and they each selected a king from among the boys. The boy selected was given a bouquet by the girl who chose him. These four young men then had charge of preparing and sharing the expense of the next dance.

As each dance was held, arrangements were made for holding the next, and so a series of social entertainments was kept up. These dances were called by the French, *Bals du Roi*, or "King's balls."

THE AMERICANS

When the United States purchased Louisiana from France in 1803, there was begun a mighty immigration of "American" settlers from the states east of Missouri. Hardy and vigorous were those early Missouri Americans and their vigor of body was expressed both in their work and in their play. They contrasted strongly with the gentle, easy-going French of the old regime.

Probably the most outstanding single feature of the play life of these early Americans was the way in which they combined work with amusement. A feeling of fellowship possessed them and they gathered together to make light the

work which would be trying and difficult if performed alone. When these pioneers had once gathered, they seldom disbanded without some kind of amusement. They called the event a "social party," a "play party", or perhaps a "kissing bee" or "frolic". Very frequently the entertainment was a dance.

AN AMERICAN DANCE

News of an approaching social gathering would travel far, and on the evening appointed, people would come from miles around. "The dancing was usually of the rudest sort," wrote John R. Musick, in his "Stories of Missouri." "The fiddler sawed away on his cracked instrument all night long on such airs as 'Old Dan Tucker,' 'Zip Coon,' 'Natches Under the Hill,' 'Rickets', 'Fisher's Hornpipe,' 'Sailor's Hornpipe,' 'Run, Nigger, Run,' 'Soap Suds,' 'Great Big Tater in the Sandy Land,' and others of like character. When not engaged in dancing or talking with the girls, the young men usually discussed farming, logging, or clearing off the forest and plowing the ground." Sometimes, when the party was in full swing, a pretty girl would pause long enough to remove her buckskin shoes from her blistered feet, and continue the dance in comfort.

All night was passed in dancing, but when daylight came and the music and dancing stopped, the guests left for their homes.

AN OBJECTION IS OVERRULED

Not all such dances met with the approval of the ministers of pioneer Missouri. But any interference on the part of the preacher usually aroused stubborn resistance from the pioneer.

"Now, see here, Brother Smith," said a pioneer to an objecting revivalist, "you just render unto Caesar them things that are Caesar's and we'll render unto the Lord the things that are the Lord's. We don't aim to worship the Lord by machinery. Have your camp meetings and we'll raise the tunes without even the help of a tuning-fork, and sing all the hymns you give out, but you please let this outside business alone. If Thomas Jefferson cleared his mind of care by playing the fiddle, it is good enough for us."

THE DAY OF THE "BEE"

The word "bee," applied by pioneers to numerous varieties of social and work gatherings, is distinctly of American origin. Meetings were held for innumerable purposes; the occasion was usually to do co-operatively some work that could either not be done without help, or would be exceedingly irksome or unpleasant to do alone. There were house-raising, sewing bees, paring bees, and innumerable other forms of bees. Such gatherings gave many of the early pioneers the only opportunity they had of social contact with their neighbors. And amusements were never forgotten, even though the work that had to be done was long and tiresome.

A SHUCKING BEE

Dr. Walter Williams, now president of the University of Missouri, has written of one of these gatherings:

"In the earliest pioneer days crops were never husked on the stalk, but were hauled home in the husk and thrown in a heap by the side of the crib, so that when husked the ears could be thrown into the crib. The entire community, men and women, were invited to the 'shucking,' as it was called. Married and unmarried women and men engaged in the shucking bee. Two expert huskers were selected as captains and the heap of corn divided as nearly equal as possible. Rails were laid across the pile to designate the division. Each captain chose alternately his huskers, men and women. The contest between the two parties to see which could complete first the shucking often became exciting. Whenever a man husked a red ear of corn he was entitled to a kiss from any one of the girls. This frequently excited much fuss and scuffle, which was intended by both parties to end in a kiss. It is said to have been a general practice that taffa or monongahela whiskey was used at these husking frolics, men and women drinking together out of a bottle without glass or cup. The dance followed the completion of the husking. Jigs or four-handed reels and three-handed reels were usually engaged in. Seldom was there drunkenness. No sitting down was indulged in. Everyone stood up or danced."

Needless to say, such social functions gave the pioneer an opportunity to talk things over with his neighbor. In fact, talking itself was an accomplished amusement, finding its highest development around the fireside of the old Missouri tavern.

Meetings were held for many purposes, but always with the idea of getting work done. Bees were held for sap-collecting and "sugaring-off"; house-warmings were frequent. In the old school houses were held singing bees and spelling bees—often there would be a fiddler's contest to liven up a hard life. House raising bees were important affairs in those old days.

A HOUSE RAISING

"Then, if a house was to be raised, every man turned out," recalled an old pioneer of the Howard and Chariton county district, "and often the women, too; and while the men piled up the logs that fashioned the primitive dwelling-place, the women prepared the dinner. Sometimes it was cooked by big log fires near the site where the cabin was building; in other cases it was prepared at the nearest cabin, and at the proper hour was carried to where the men were at work. . . .

"We were all on an equality. Aristocratic feelings were unknown and would not have been tolerated. What one had we all had, and that was the happiest period of my life."

The log cabin has been described in this manner: "The Missourian's cabin was from fourteen to sixteen feet square, seldom as much as twenty feet. It was built ordinarily without glass, nails, hinges or locks. Large logs were placed in position as sills. Upon these were laid strong sleepers, and upon the sleepers rough-hewed puncheons to serve as floors. The logs for the cabin walls were then built up until the desired height for the eaves was reached. On the ends of the building were placed logs longer than the other end logs, projecting some eighteen inches over the sides, these were called the 'butting poles,' which gave the line to the first row of clapboards. The clapboards were split, and, as the gables of the cabin were built, were so laid on as to lap a third of their length. They were usually kept in place by a heavy weighted

pole laid across the roof parallel to the ridge pole. The cabin was then chinked and daubed.

"A large fireplace was built in one end of the house, where, in the days before the coming of stoves, there was fire for cooking purposes and in winter for warmth. Sometimes the ceilings were covered with the pelts of the wolf, the opossum and the raccoon, adding to the warmth of the cabin. Greased paper served for windows. Often a log would be left out on one side and sheets of paper greased with coon grease or bear oil placed in its stead to let in the light for the cabin. Bedsteads were sometimes so contrived as to be drawn up and fastened to the wall in the day time or when not in use, affording more room on the cabin floor for the family. The furniture was ordinarily entirely made with ax and auger. Table knives and forks were often not to be found in the cabin."

Hunting, as well as shooting matches, was a favorite pastime of the early Missouri man. Remarkable feats are related of the prowess of these pioneers with their old flint-lock rifles. Sometimes a man could pay his taxes in bounties offered by the county for wolf scalps.

The games which the men most enjoyed were wrestling, leaping, jumping, running, lifting weights and the like. Women were generally not present at these meetings, and sometimes these tournaments ended in bloodshed.

To the famous, but now nearly extinct "bee tree," the pioneer turned for the sweetening for his rye coffee, or—if he were fortunate—his coffee made of the real berry. Early Missourians called honey their "long-sweetening"; "short sweetening" was maple-sugar, but the pioneer preferred honey. In fact, there was a war fought over honey.

A WAR OVER HONEY

The so-called Honey War was a dispute over the ownership of lands claimed by both Missouri and Iowa, on which was located valuable honey trees. A government officer was sent to settle the dispute.

Along the wooded water courses bee trees were particularly numerous. This was true along the valley of the Missouri river. In the late part of the summer, many of the early Missourians would go into camp along these wooded Missouri streams to hunt for bee trees. The trees were plentiful, and the rich honey brought a good price on the market.

Quilting bees were especially enjoyed by the pioneer. The womenfolk gathered to do the quilting, but the men came too. The men were supposed to either pay a dollar or split 100 rails during the day. In the evening there was the nearly-inevitable dance.

While not particularly to be classed as amusements, religious meetings and marriages were occasions of social intercourse and gave the pioneer an opportunity for social contacts.

A CLEVER PIONEER

Dr. Williams tells a story which illustrates how pioneers occasionally combined business and pleasure, and how some were endowed with diplomatic accomplishments.

"Jacob Ish, of Saline County, tired of pounding corn with pestle in a mortar, went to the Boonslick mill to get some corn meal ground. He crossed the Missouri River at Arrow Rock and encamped in the river bottom on the opposite bank, with a number of other settlers from different parts of the county on their way with corn to be ground at the mill. Around the campfire stories were told of encounters with Indians and wild beasts, of adventures in the War of 1812, and there was heard the spirited music of the violin. There were two or three good performers on the instrument, and some of the members of the camp were 'limber as to feet and frisky as to heels.' Pigeon wings and double shuffles were executed in admirable style to the admiration of the lookers-on. The next morning camp was broken up early and the settlers started for the mill. Many of them had brought corn and shelled it on the wagon as they travelled. Upon reaching the mill it was thronged with customers, many of whom had been there for a week, patiently waiting their turn. The mill ran night and day. About four hundred yards away was a cabin,

in which a very inferior article of corn whiskey was sold. Ish and party visited this establishment, and its occupants, on learning their business, said to them: 'You won't get your grinding for a month. Better fix to camp or else go back home.' Mr. Ish had come forty-five miles and did not propose to have his trouble for nothing. He kept away from the grogshop and made friends with the miller's wife. The same night a man whose turn had come had gone to the grogshop and had become oblivious of the fact that he had come to the mill at all. He was not to be found. The miller's wife persuaded her husband to give Ish the turn of the drunken pioneer, and the next morning by nine o'clock he was on his way to the Saline County settlement in triumph, with forty bushels of unbolted meal in his wagon for himself and his neighbors."

Care was taken by the pioneer not to fail in the observance of holidays such as we today celebrate. Hallowe'en has not changed greatly during the passing years, for pranks on this occasion were numerous. Valentine's day brought forth a flood of hearts and darts, just as it does today. May festivals were common in the early days, as well as Sunday school picnics.

Washington's birthday was first observed west of the Mississippi river in 1817 at a public dinner in St. Louis. The governor of Missouri Territory was the toast-master, and several prominent men attended and gave toasts. Other public celebrations followed in succeeding years.

THE "GLORIOUS FOURTH"

The Fourth of July was celebrated in the approved manner with much noise occasioned by small boys. Celebrations were held in towns, at the county courthouse, at the cross-roads store, and in schoolhouses. Early in the morning the people began to assemble. They came on horseback, on foot and in all forms of horse-drawn vehicles. A minister opened the celebration with a prayer, someone read the Declaration of Independence and then some man with political leanings would plunge "into that style of oratory technically described as 'spreadeagle' and soared until a hungry audience

drowned his voice in applause, or the singing of the national anthem." Sometimes these celebrations were in the form of banquets. If one is to judge the patriotic fervor of the participants by the number of toasts drunk in the name of freedom and liberty, these early Missourians indeed loved their country.

A barbeque usually followed the speaking. In the afternoon there were games such as catching greased pigs, climbing greased poles, horse racing and other sports. The evening blazed with fireworks, much as it does today, and the celebration of the day ended as it had begun, with a loud explosion of ignited powder.

THANKSGIVING

Thanksgiving in old Missouri was, as it is today, a day for rejoicing after harvest. The first official Thanksgiving in Missouri was November 30, 1843, the day set aside by Governor Thomas C. Reynolds "to give thanks to Almighty God for His favors extended to us nationally and individually." Thanksgiving, of course, had been observed in Missouri before 1843, but this was the first official observance in the State. Since then, nearly without exception, Thanksgiving has been observed officially each year.

THE GERMANS AND CHRISTMAS

To the Germans, who made the third great immigration into Missouri, following the Americans, Missourians owe much for their present customs of observing Christmas. With them the Germans brought the idea of the Christmas tree, which is probably now the most symbolic representation of Christmas. Missourians, as well as the people of other States, were quick to adopt the custom of decorating evergreen trees at Christmas time.

Before the Germans came to Missouri, the American children had placed their stockings at the fireplace expecting confidently that St. Nicholas would come with his reindeers and fill them with presents in the night.

AN AMERICAN CHRISTMAS

On Christmas morning in the early American families, the slaves and children would be up to shout "Christmas gift" to everyone. Stockings were examined with breathless expectancy, and amid the shouts and disorderly confusion which still attends the opening of presents, Christmas day was begun.

Christmas, then and now, was a period of home-coming. The older children of the family came back from school, and other relatives were present to enjoy the holiday. Hunting was a favorite pastime of the men, while the women stayed at home to talk and try on the new clothes that Christmas had occasioned for them.

The spirit of holiday was not lacking for the slaves, either. Some families had the custom of not making the slaves work for two weeks during the Christmas holidays. In other households there was the custom of the yule log; as long as it burned on the hearth the slaves need do no work. The selection of the log was left to the slaves, who chose the greenest and hardest log in the wood lot for the purpose. When the log had burned to the last ember, the final spark was entrusted to some careful old mammy, who kept it alive to start the next year's yule log fire.

There was a unity of feeling which predominated the whole of the amusements in pioneer Missouri life. This was not alone a desire for companionship, although that was important, but it was an expression of interest in each individual. Often when a man was sick, his neighbors would gather to work his crops for him.

The social life and customs of today in Missouri still bear the impress of the pioneer. True, the present has changed many of these customs, and altered the manner of attaining our amusements, but the entertainment which stressed group unity still persists. We of the present have a common feeling with those men, women and children of the past who found pleasure and a good life in the rigorous times of old Missouri.

ABIEL LEONARD

BY FREDERIC A. CULMER

CHAPTER V

THE STATESMAN

Abiel Leonard and Francis P. Blair, Jr., drew closer together as the struggle between north and south progressed. In July 1854, they were furnishing means to A. P. Richardson, a Benton Democrat, to ride through several northern counties, "his expenses paid, and a little money to lay out discreetly . . . \$150," to persuade Benton men to vote for the Whig congressional candidate. A general Whig-Benton coalition prevailed throughout the State. After the August elections of 1854, A. S. Mitchell wrote Leonard that there were "not 500 Whigs in St. Louis." Rollins could not find a Whig party in Boone county two years earlier. Yet six of the seven Congressmen of 1854 from Missouri were Whigs, as also were sixty members of the General Assembly of the State—forty-eight representatives and ten senators. The elected Speaker of the House was a Whig. During the canvass, J. J. Lindley, national representative, wrote to Leonard that the Benton Democrats "were inspired with the spirit of their leader" and dared to "beat their enemies even by voting for a Whig." Had not the Kansas-Nebraska excitement raged in Missouri, the State's civil war history probably would have been far different.¹

On the question of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Leonard was at variance with Benton, Rollins and, apparently, with almost all conservative Whig thinkers in Missouri. Congressmen Miller, Oliver and Lindley wrote him from Washington, on December 27, 1853, asking his advice on a bill for "the re-organization of the Territory of Nebraska, . . . with no reference to slavery." Leonard

¹W. 109, 119, 146, 206, 225; *House Journal*, 18th General Assembly of Missouri, 1854-1855, pp. 3-9.

noted his answer on the letter: "Jan. 7, 54. Vote for prop. to lay on the table and suppress all agitation on the slavery question." But he changed his mind on Douglas' new bill, and added another memorandum: "Wrote again 4 Feb. 54. Vote for Douglas' new bill." Now on January 16, 1854, Rollins had written Leonard:

Upon mature reflection I wrote our Congressional friends to stand by the Missouri Compromise! . . . Be certain to write to me.²

But from Lexington William T. Wood wrote Leonard April 6, 1854:

I had been misinformed . . . I received a letter from Maj. Rollins in which he stated that the advice . . . was the same given by yourself and others—to vote against the repeal of the prohibitory clause of the Missouri Compromise. . . . And I learned from my Brother Doct. Wood, who saw Messrs. Miller and Oliver in Washington, and they or one of them had told him that they had read a number of letters from Missouri and in all without exception they had been advised to vote against the bill but your letter was written on the 6th of Feb and he left on the 14th . . . You can see from these facts how I was misled as to your position.³

Missouri Whig newspapers declared the unity of the Whigs upon it.⁴ But it was not the unity of all Whig-Benton men. Benton, now in the national House of Representatives, voted against the bill. Benton and Rollins were intimately associated. Missouri's Whig Congressmen upheld the bill. Many Missouri Whigs believed yet that the Union and slavery extension could both be preserved. Leonard belonged to this group. Even for the election of Union men to the State Convention of 1861, he declared:

My interests as a father and a husband, my prosperity as a land and slaveholder in Missouri, all prompt me to struggle without ceasing and to the last extremity. . . .

Apparently Leonard had not thought the question of the Wilmot Proviso of any "PRACTICAL" importance in 1849. His files preserve his legal opinion of the repeal

²W. 151, 226.

³W. 116.

⁴Meigs, *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton*, pp. 425-426.

of the Compromise; he emphasizes the psychological effects of the Compromise upon the slaveholder:

The question is, not what will be the future of the country when it shall be settled and a state government established, but what is its present condition now under existing laws while it is still an unsettled waste? . . . it is an insult to the slaveholder to exclude him from the country until it is settled and then tell him that the question is left to be decided by the inhabitants. . . .⁵

The political policy of Missouri was soon to be mirrored in the election of a United States Senator to succeed D. R. Atchison. If political idealism stirred Leonard's aspirations, suggestion lent aid. Littlebury Hendrick of Springfield wrote him:

The class of Whigs in this region with whom I communicate are for you. And the Benton men . . . in the event of Benton's withdrawal, will unite on you en masse hereabouts. . . .

Samuel T. Glover of St. Louis again urged him to stand for election; by October 1854, Leonard had sent his "views" on church and state and naturalization laws to St. Louis and was openly a candidate. His candidacy crossed Rollins' desire for the same office, and the Central groups again bid for St. Louis support. It was understood in St. Louis that the Whig candidate was to be from the central or western part of the State.⁶ Political bitterness again broke out and Glover and Richardson represent the Leonard group in St. Louis:

Before receiving yours of the 8th, I had a letter from Rollins, [Glover wrote to Leonard on September 15, 1854] and although he said he was your friend, . . . I told John Richardson he was not your friend. . . .

On October 30th Glover wrote again in the same strain. Richardson sent Leonard two letters under dates of October 23, and 30:

He has admitted that you were the choice of the party, that you had higher claims upon the office than any man in the state and yet . . . all the time is electioneering for it.

⁵"My father, James S. Rollins, and Mr. Benton were always very close friends." Hon. C. B. Rollins, of Columbia, to the author; W. 201, 196, 166.

⁶Edward Bates in the *Whig Messenger*, February 8, 1855, on the understanding; W. 123, 124, 120, 253.

Richardson's bitterness may be judged from the fact that he stated his preference for Atchison before Rollins.

On October 22nd, C. D. Drake of St. Louis wrote to ask Leonard's open candidacy for the position of State Supreme Judge, *vice* H. R. Gamble, resigned.⁷ Leonard delayed his "answer for a few days." Letters came urging him both ways.⁸ He held to his senatorial candidacy as late as November 3, 1854. Declining to join the Know-Nothings, he wrote to S. M. Breckenridge of St. Louis:

Having been spoken of as one that might be selected by our party as its candidate for the United States Senate, my motives might very naturally be suspected.

His formal consent to stand for the office of Supreme Court Judge was given November 22nd. Some thought the offer was a scheme to draw him out of the senatorial race. Richardson and Glover were angered. Richardson hoped that "Davis and your other friends will pitch into Rollins." Glover wrote to Leonard:

Maj. Rollins will no doubt cordially sustain you for judge. If you elect the judgeship then I want Rollins beat, and if [it] can be done I will come up to Jefferson to do it.⁹

There was little if any reality in the belief. Even Richardson knew that Judge Gamble was the author of an article in the *Republican* calling for Leonard, and so wrote Leonard. Glover's first letter to Leonard on the subject was "at the suggestion of Judge Gamble who is extremely anxious that you should succeed him on the bench . . ." Sixty-five lawyers of St. Louis urged him to run for the office.¹⁰

A few days after Leonard chose the Supreme Judgeship, Rollins wrote him a vigorous denial of self-preference, stressing the ancient honorable and uninterrupted friendship which has existed between us. . . .

⁷ W. 124, 127, 128, 132, 132x.

⁸ W. 124, 126, 130, 131, 136, 139, 146, 158, 220, 222, 225, 252.

⁹ W. 122, 135, 139, 141.

¹⁰ W. 132, 138, 139, 141.

Glover had to admit that, after Leonard, Rollins was the logical candidate. While writing, he added:

But who is the man? Again, can we justify ourselves in beating him?

Rollins' candidacy undoubtedly received the personal support of Benton. To his letter Rollins appended a "private" postscript:

Bullion has written a letter to A. P. Richardson of Jefferson City,—tells his friends to show their preference for senator and then go for a true blue Whig. . . . You know the bargain has been for the Antis to give us banks . . . & the Whigs to give them Acheson [sic] for Senator. But it seems Bullion will do the same and ask no 'quid pro quo' . . . it knocks the sand from under them. Explain this to Davis.

It is apparent that some political retaliation took place at Jefferson City. Davis of Fayette reported to Leonard. Doniphan and Rollins "were on their best legs for Senator." The Whig caucus forbade any support for a "Speaker" or Senator, who would not stand by the Kansas and Nebraska bills.¹¹ This preliminary ruling barred Rollins. On January 1st, 1855, Davis wrote again. Doniphan was still "amphibious" and

the Anties urging the Whigs to nominate him and his own friends urging the chairman of the caucus to call a meeting to nominate. . . . and if he is nominated the Bentons will defeat the election entirely at this session. I had rather vote for Robert Wilson than Doniphan. To Rollins I know your objections, but he is gaining and is on the right side. . . . Our only chance now to elect is from the help of the Bentons; if that is withheld you see the end—no election.

Leonard went to Jefferson City. On January 10th he wrote to his wife at Fayette:

Say to Doct. Smith [his son-in-law] . . . the general opinion here now is that there will be 'no election.' I find Col. Davis very well and a man of considerable stature here.¹²

The general political situation must be taken into account. James J. Lindley had written Leonard:

¹¹ W. 148, 150.

¹² W. 152, 33a.

Benton's friends will thwart the St. Louis Whigs in their trade with the Anties by going for a bank and the interest law, but this will hardly defeat the intriguers. . . . In this state of affairs could you not suggest to our friend Davis a course of action that would defeat the intriguers and give us a Whig senator or postpone the election.

It is evident, since he knew Benton's approval and support of Rollins' candidacy, that Leonard preferred no election. Doniphan was no friend to Leonard. In 1848 Richardson had feared to send letters recommending Leonard for Taylor's cabinet "to Platte" for the reason that Doniphan might see them. But Doniphan was a guarantee of no election. He would hold State Rights Whigs as against anti-Benton Democratic pull; coalition between the two Democratic wings was impossible, and the Benton men would not vote for him.¹³ The whole situation favored the Leonard group. The Whig caucus nominated Doniphan and he was never withdrawn. Blair apparently knew something of the inner Whig conflict. In debate he recognized pure unionism in Whigs, (which sets his remarks upon conservative Whigs) declared they had consulted only their interests in their nomination, and recorded his vote for Benton. Edward Bates wrote from St. Louis and rebuked the Whigs for their lack of unity. Goode of St. Louis accused Rollins of trying to supplant Doniphan and trying "to creep into the Senate." The *Missouri Statesman* did not hide its resentment.

They have voted 37 ballots for Doniphan. Let them try some other man. Rollins is a favorite of a large part of the Whig party.¹⁴

Rollins' letter to Leonard contains a striking comment:

. . . You are the only *orthodox* Whig who could have secured the undivided Whig strength of the State without a murmur & the Benton men would have as readily united upon you as any other Whig.

Rollins seems to have set at rest the question: Who was the real leader of Missouri Whigs?

Failing to elect a United States Senator the General Assembly adjourned to meet the first Monday in November.

¹³ W. 56, 103, 104, 149; *Missouri Statesman*, January 19, 1855.

¹⁴ *Whig Messenger*, February 8, 1855; *Missouri Statesman*, January 10, 19, February 2, March 2, 1855.

During the interim the *Republican* noted a plan of the "Rollins Whigs" and Benton Democrats to elect two United States Senators, successors to Atchison and also Geyer, whose term did not expire till 1857. The tentative nominees were Robert Wilson of Andrew county and Benton. Wilson denied any part or lot in the matter. The *Canton Northeast Reporter* declared that the real plan was to put Rollins and Benton in the Senate, and that "the trick didn't take with the honest men among the Whigs."¹⁵ Joe Davis of Fayette went over to the Rollins side. He had a reason. Leonard's son-in-law, Doctor Smith, wrote him at Jefferson City on June 10, 1855:

On Monday last the "Friends of Kansas" held a "glorification meeting" at the courthouse [at Fayette] and passed sundry resolutions. . . . The resolutions and speeches sounded like we were already in the midst of civil war.

Col. Davis opposed the resolutions and the authors consider him killed. Whigs and Democrats participated. Col. looks dejected. . . . Atchison will be elected this fall and heaven grant this may be all the injury such excitements will do us.

On November 19, 1855, Rollins wrote to Leonard from the House of Representatives at Jefferson City:

I come to the point at once. Blair Benton and Co., are not strong enough to keep asunder the two wings of the Democracy. They will come together in my opinion and they will elect this winter some such man as Bogy. Now this may be prevented by electing two senators at this session, say a Whig and Benton, and the question presents itself, is it right, is it fair, that the Whigs vote for Benton in consideration of getting one of their own men and also to defeat the election of a nullifier? . . .

A coalition with the Benton men will prevent a reunion of the Democrats. . . .

I confess I want counsel from the reliable men of our party in reference to this affair and I know of no one more trustworthy or *who ought to give it more willingly*. Come therefore to the point and tell us at once *what to do*.

In regard to the matter mentioned I wish (if you deem it of any importance) you would mention it to our friends in St. Louis, Gamble, Bates, Glover, Richardson, etc.¹⁶

¹⁵*Missouri Republican*, November 28, 1855; *The Reporter*, December 6, 1855; 8. 1.

¹⁶W. 154 "Bogy" was Louis V. Bogy of St. Louis county, an ex-Whig. The *Missouri Statesman* of June 18, 1852, described him as "traitorous . . . with pieces of the Whig shell still on him."

No successor to Atchison was chosen until James S. Green was elected in 1857 after both parties had been wrecked.

The general political situation was fully in line with personal determinations to keep Rollins out of the Senate. For months anti-Benton Democrats had identified him as a "freesoiler" because of his connection with "Benton, Blair, etc."¹⁷ Leonard's co-operation with the Benton group had stopped at the point of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He was still the conciliator, while the Benton group became more and more distinctly northern in views and utterance. It is significant that Davis wrote Leonard, "and most of the Northern men I believe are for him" (Rollins). It is also significant that when Rollins later openly came over to the conservative camp he received the cordial support of Leonard, Glover, Broadhead and Richardson. Rollins' letter to Leonard shows that they did not become personal enemies. The death of Benton, and the unyielding attitude of Blair and his associates, made co-operation easier between and among these men. If the papers of James S. Rollins are ever published they may throw more light upon the United States senatorial situation of 1855-1857.

Leonard's files are almost vacant of political material during the period of his judgeship. After its close he was ill until October 1858, when he began to practice law in St. Louis. Now parties had gone to pieces in the State. The only basis for organized conservatism was a party standing on the sole issue of the Union. To this party the waning strength of Leonard went. There was still hope that southern self-determination and the Union could be preserved together. And in the State election of 1856, while Polk received 46,889 to Benton's 27,527 votes, Ewing, the "American" candidate polled 40,578.¹⁸

In the Howard county Opposition Convention of February 22, 1860, Leonard and "Jo" Davis were the principal speakers. The State Opposition Convention of February 28, at Jefferson City, made Leonard its permanent chairman.

¹⁷*House and Senate Journals*, 18th General Assembly, 1854-55; see also a reprint in the *Missouri Statesman*, June 8, 1855, from the *St. Louis Intelligencer*.

¹⁸W. 154x, 174, 190; *Boonville Observer*, August 10, 1856.

He had been elected as a delegate from St. Louis. Before the convention met Leonard had decided the vital question of its personnel. Whigs had refused to sit with "Black Republicans;" the election of "Messrs. Blair and Brown" as delegates had created a furor among conservatives. Leonard's letter, "in much haste and confidentially" to Senator Robert Wilson of the eleventh Missouri district, put the forces of pacification at work and his program of conservative unity prevailed. He also determined the policy of the convention. Six days before the State Convention met, Samuel T. Glover wrote to him:

There are two sides to this slavery propaganda and extension. One is right and the other is wrong, or one is more nearly right than the other. . . . I am not for peace if it is to be had at the price of freedom of speech and conscience. Let us go forward at least one step now.

By July 10, Glover was "in full fellowship with the Republicans."¹⁹ His protest did not avail. Leonard was yet for peace at all costs. His policy was that of concerted Unionist effort peacefully to prevent secession. He believed that the safety of slavery lay with the Union.

Howard county is true to the Union. Our slaveholders think it the sure bulwark of our slave property.

So he wrote to Wilson, and continued:

Our slaveholders have a good deal more sense than the politicians at Washington or Jefferson. . . . Every attempt politicians have made to strengthen the institution have weakened it, and the pretended effort now being made for that purpose, will effectually extinguish it within our limits, if they succeed in their traitor schemes.

Because of this belief Leonard hoped for "the final overthrow and extinction of the Democratic party."

The State Convention, with other conventions, nominated Edward Bates for the Presidency; its platform opposed agitation of slavery for party purposes.²⁰ National politics crossed its path of harmony. Answering an inquiry from a Republican committee on March 17, 1860, Bates wrote:

¹⁹ *Missouri Statesman*, February 24, March 9, 1860; W. 154x, 166, 174.

²⁰ W. 184, 300, copy, Leonard to Wilson.

Entertaining these views I am opposed to the extension of slavery and in my opinion the spirit and policy of the government ought to be against its extension.

Consternation reigned among the Unionist groups in Missouri. The *Missouri Statesman* believed this declaration from a Presidential candidate would "re-open the flood-gates of popular passion and again deluge the country with the bitter waters of slavery agitation."²¹

True to his perception of reality Leonard became, after the nomination of Lincoln, a Republican by choice, and of necessity a conservative Unionist in his own state. After Lincoln's election, Richard C. Vaughn of Lexington, Missouri, with whom Leonard had corresponded from March 13 to November 12, 1860, wrote him:

I fully and from the bottom of my heart endorse every sentiment in your letter, and I now tender to you the congratulations of a heart overflowing with gratitude for the great deliverance vouchsafed to us in the overthrow and extinction of the Democratic party. . . . I trust you may be correct in supposing that there is no danger to the union. . . . I am glad to see in this community there is a decided reaction favorable to giving Mr. Lincoln's administration a fair trial, and an opinion prevailing to a great extent that his course will be characterised by a noble magnanimity towards the south. . . .

Political exigency had forbidden open support of the Republican party. On June 29, 1860, when Claiborne F. Jackson came to Fayette to speak, someone informed Leonard that Jackson had spoken of him as "a black Republican of the blackest hue." Leonard sent down a note stating his intention of replying "in such manner as I think your conduct towards me merits." Jackson returned a courteous note, denying the accusation, but claiming the right "to speak of the public acts of all men . . . respectfully and with a strict regard for the truth." On July 1, 1860, the *Missouri Statesman* wrote the sequel:

We understand that on Monday last Judge Leonard met Maj. Jackson and Gen. Clark at the courthouse and roasted them alive.²²

²¹ *Missouri Statesman*, March 30, 1860.

²² *W.* 184; see also *W.* 167, 169, 190, 228; *W.* 172, 172 x.

Leonard also was able to keep his hand upon some Republican activities in the State for the interest of conservative policy. On June 9, 1860, James B. Gardenhire, Republican candidate for Governor, wrote him a letter from Jefferson City:

I will be in Fayette on Friday or Saturday next where we can have a full talk in reference to the matter about which I wrote you. I have myself much more to say than it would be convenient to write.

In July, Gardenhire wrote an open letter urging Missouri Republicans to throw their votes to the Opposition in the August State elections. In the State election Gardenhire received 6,135 votes. Between August and November, Gardenhire continued to work with Leonard by correspondence and personal conferences.²³

The secession of South Carolina inflamed public sentiment in Missouri and raised Republican excitement to a high pitch. Leonard wrote Samuel T. Glover for an appointment to discuss the situation in the State. Glover's answer, setting an appointment in Jefferson City, "Wednesday next," is evidence of Republican determination. He was ready to bring matters to a head on Republican terms.

For extension can never be got and ought not to be. If then the Republicans stand on proper grounds; . . . why we must say so boldly and fearlessly. . . I do not want gentlemen to call themselves Republicans, or say anything about Republicans. I want them to take specific ground on the question of extension.²⁴

If the conference was held, Leonard's conservatism prevailed as subsequent developments prove.

There is a collateral comment on Leonard's policy. Edward Bates was for crushing at once the "handful of desperate men," who were "doing all they can to precipitate Missouri into Revolution . . . by a course to deter them and all other such men from any further effort to advance the treasonable enterprise." But H. R. Gamble, his brother-in-law, took Leonard's ground. Knowing of Bates' letter

²³ W. 225, 256. Gardenhire's open letter is in *Switzer's Scrapbook*, in the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia.

²⁴ W. 186.

to Senator Robert Wilson, Gamble followed it next day with his own, requesting that Bates' letter be kept "strictly from the knowledge of others."

As he is identified with the Republican party any counsel he may give and any opinion he may express will be of little use in promoting the cause of the union which we have so much at heart. . . .

"Is Judge Leonard at Jefferson?" wrote Gamble. "He must come forward now, . . ." Gamble had been east; had he known it there was no need to challenge Leonard. His name had appeared at the top of a list of fifty-one men calling for a Union meeting to be held at Fayette, by notice in the *Missouri Statesman*, November 30, 1860. The assembly elected him its president; its resolutions hold every element of his conservative unionism. Southern congressmen should keep their seats; Missouri's representatives should demand that the national government enforce the Fugitive Slave Act.²⁵

Governor Robert M. Stewart had declared that "Missouri will stand to her lot and hold to the Union as long as it is worth the effort to preserve it," but in his first message Governor Claiborne F. Jackson pointed another destiny for the State:

. . . her honor, her sympathies, her interests, point alike in one direction and determine her to stand beside the south.²⁶

His message left the final determination to a suggested convention, "that the will of the people may be ascertained and effectuated." In reality he feared the will of the people upon the issue of secession in Missouri. On January 22, 1861, Aikman Welch, representative from Johnson county, wrote Leonard in answer to an inquiry of January 12:

The inaugural of Gov. Jackson shows him to be a traitor to Missouri. During the pendency of the convention bill that gentleman was insidious in his endeavors to defeat the insertion of a clause submitting the action

²⁵Copies of the Bates and Gamble letters will shortly be placed in the archives of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia. The originals are the property of the Wilson family; *Missouri Statesman*, December 14, 1860.

²⁶Shoemaker and Leopard, *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, Vol. 3, p. 333.

of the convention to the people in case they should pass any ordinance changing the relation of Missouri to the Federal Government. . . . We persevered until we . . . forced them to yield. Gov. Jackson declared, after we had succeeded in affixing that provision to the bill, that "it waan't worth a damn," and yet his excellency had to approve and did approve the bill. . . .²⁷

Leonard entered into a plan for conservative control of the convention. On January 21, 1861, he wrote to Senator Robert Wilson. With the South, so far as it represented secession, he was done. To keep "our own state loyal without bloodshed if possible," the grounds of the conservative arguments in the canvass for the election were to be those of "Hall." (This must have been W. A. Hall, the Douglas Democrat who had proposed to Leonard the union of Douglas Democrats with the Opposition party on the basis of a United States Senator for each group.) If Wilson concurred he should have a speech by Hall published in Northwest Missouri papers.

Welch had written Leonard:

Permit me to urge for all you hold dear to run for the place. Every Union man here [at the General Assembly] has expressed great solicitude that you should announce yourself at once.²⁸

But in a few weeks Leonard was confined to his home until his death. Probably at Fayette, he made an address to the Union men of his district:

I have been solicited [the manuscript runs] by Union men from all parts of this district without distinction of former political parties to become a candidate for the convention from this county, and have declined from sheer physical inability to go through with the canvass. . . . I submit. But although I cannot take the position of a leader in this great contest to preserve the best government ever devised by man . . . it is my duty in common with that of every other citizen to contribute to the success of the good cause in all the ways that are still open to me. . . .

²⁷ W. 188; see Welch's description of the fight in the *Proceedings of the Convention of 1861*, p. 111.

²⁸ A copy of the Leonard letter to Wilson will soon be placed in the archives of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia; W. 187, Hall's letter to Leonard.

Of course I am not a submissionist²⁹ in the odious sense in which that word is being used by disunionists who apply it to alarm timid union men away from their loyalty, nor am I a simpleton to be scared into the commission of treason by such vile epithets. I can imagine acts that it is possible for the Federal government to do that in my opinion would justify rebellion, although in my opinion there is no human probability that it will ever do so, and when such cases occur, if I am alive, I shall be far less likely to submit to them than some of the noisy secessionists of the present day. . . .

But when such acts occur I shall not seek to shelter myself from all the consequences of my acts under cover of the alleged right of secession, . . . which is now resorted to by demagogues, it is feared, not so much from a conviction of its truth, as from the fears of answering to their followers for all the evils and horrors of civil war that their course is necessarily bringing upon the country. . . .

The leaders of the revolution in the cotton states have long entertained a design of forming a free trade confederacy of the Gulph states, and their purpose is to extend it over Southern Mexico and Central America and the West Indian Islands and to open the African slave trade to furnish an inexhaustible supply of slave labor for those new sugar and cotton fields. General Jackson saw this in 1833, and in a letter of that year³⁰ after he had put down South Carolina, well said that their real purpose was to form a southern confederacy, and that the tariff was a mere pretext, and the next time slavery would be the pretext. And they want the border states to join them as a barrier between them and the north, and to protect them from the north, being utterly unable to take care of themselves in this particular. . . . it is hoped to precipitate us out of the Union. And it may be that this plan will succeed and we shall be cheated into committing the greatest act both of folly and madness that was ever committed by any people.³¹

Did Leonard believe that slavery would survive even a struggle between north and south, without reference to the

²⁹Mr. Walter Stevens thinks the word "submissionist" was added to the "political nomenclature of Missouri" after the first session of the convention in March, 1861, upon the anger of the legislature at the report of the convention. He connects it with the words of Mr. Vest: "So help me God! If the day ever comes when Missouri shall prove so recreant to herself . . . as to submit tamely to these northern Phillistines, I will take up my household goods and leave the state." See, *Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 720.

But Leonard's use of the word shows three things: that Vest was not the coinor of the word; that it was in current understood use before delegates were selected for the convention; that it has reference to those who would submit absolutely to the acts of the Federal Government without question of constitutional or legal right.

³⁰Jackson's letter is printed in the *Journal of the Missouri State Convention*, March, 1861, p. 53.

³¹W. 165.

effect upon the Union? On October 25, 1862, Thomas Shackelford of Glasgow, writing to Leonard for advice on a candidate for the General Assembly, remarked:

I am satisfied that it is for the interest of Missouri to inaugurate *now* the system of gradual emancipation, and it is just as well for the people *to have their eyes opened* to see the fact that Missouri is destined to be a free state.³³

To which Leonard answered two days later:

I have never doubted from the beginning of the troubles that they would settle the question of slavery in this state, and it seems to me that every man who will open his eyes, cannot fail to see that such is to be the result.³⁴

In his letter to Robert Wilson, Edward Bates had declared that down to the day of election to the General Assembly, "no man in Missouri was even suspected of disloyalty to the Union, except a few ultra-Breckenridge men, and they with well dissembled indignation denied the charge."³⁵ Of the ninety-nine members sent to the Convention of 1861, not one favored immediate secession.³⁶ The first resolution of the Committee on Federal Relations declared: "there is no adequate cause to compel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union." But on April 12, South Carolina threw the dice in favor of Claiborne F. Jackson by the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers and the Secretary of War requested four regiments of infantry as Missouri's quota. A revulsion of feeling seized the people of the State. Jackson's refusal to furnish troops "received the hearty approval of all the people in the state, except those belonging to the Republican party."³⁶ Leonard's daughter Martha, detained at Boonville on her way home, urged a speedy despatch of the carriage for her use. People were excited: "they are saying here that it will take a thousand men to draft one for Lincoln's army."³⁷ Peaceable unionism

³³ W. 193, marked "Private."

³⁴ W. 257.

³⁵ January 10, 1861. See n. 25.

³⁶ *Journal and Proceedings, State Convention of 1861*, pp. 5-7.

³⁷ *Proceedings, State Convention of 1861*, July, p. 38.

³⁸ Martha Leonard Smith's letter is in the Leonard private correspondence.

gave way to force. On June 18th, 1861, the battle of Boonville drove Jackson and Price, with other state officials, to southwest Missouri. War existed in Missouri between the Federal government and disunionists. When the State convention met on July 6th, it abrogated the militia law, unseated Jackson as Governor of Missouri, and vacated also the offices of Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and the General Assembly.

The crisis brought together old political rivals. Broadhead, Glover, Richardson and Rollins all met in St. Louis and buried the political hatchet. Only the day before the impetuous Richardson had written some strong remarks about Rollins to Leonard; he wrote the next day: "I wish to take back anything I may have said in the letter I wrote you yesterday."³⁸

From the moment when conciliation failed, coercion by force entirely displaced Leonard's ideal of peaceable allegiance. From this point his letters show a recognition of the old Whig leader as one to whom full information and political deference were due. Reports on the generals in the field reached him from headquarters at Jefferson City and from James S. Rollins. The latter's comment on Governor Gamble is significant on the point of Leonard's political status. "Gamble is slow. You ought to write to him and spur him up." Willard P. Hall, Acting Governor *vice* Gamble, who was ill, wrote to Leonard touching Robert Prewitt as a Supreme Judge. "*Will he do for judge now?* If you say Yes, I will appoint him."³⁹ Leadership does not long outlive active participation, in political life.

Touching the crisis brought about by the withdrawal of Governor Jackson and his political associates from Jefferson City, Thomas Shackleford of Glasgow, a member of the State Convention, stated years later:

I was called to St. Louis to meet other parties in regard to the situation. In an upper room of the Planter's House, Nathaniel Paschall, editor of the Missouri Republican, had a conference at which I was pres-

³⁸ W. 174, 196, Richardson to Leonard.

³⁹ W. 192, 250, 257.

ent, . . . Paschall said . . . it was best to depose the governor. He said that . . . he would advise this. This was done and in accordance with the advice the Convention was called together.

It is a fact that the *Republican* editorially remarked on June 21, 1861, that "fortunately his [Jackson's] reign is over." Four days later it urged the executive committee to call the convention together for the purpose of appointing a Provisional Government. But the *Republican* was not in a strong position to take the initiative in the matter of Jackson's deposition. The paper was on the southern side in the fight of 1850-1851. It was Chambers, Paschall's editor, who renewed the Jackson-Clark struggle for a southern party at the called session of the General Assembly of 1852. Paschall himself openly tried to take Whigs over to the southern side during the session of 1854, according to Leonard's file. "Men are terrified—they look to the South for peace. They read the *Missouri Republican* and remain in ignorance of things at Washington," wrote Glover to Leonard on December 30, 1860. The *Republican* came over to a conservative course. On July 15, 1861, it divided blame between "Jackson and Frank P. Blair, Jr." Four days later it was against both "Jackson and the Black Republicans." Things had changed in St. Louis. German Democrats were fast becoming "Lincoln's lop-eared Dutch." On April 28, 1861, Jackson himself wrote:

Paschall knows the people are twenty to one against him and hence he seeks to drag me into his aid and support.

Editorial needs and expediency find contrast in Jackson's unchanging fidelity to his ideal:

Who does not know that every sympathy of my heart is with the South?⁴⁰

Paschall's statement in favor of deposing Jackson was not the origin of the belief in the Convention that the Governor

⁴⁰Stevens, *Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 817; for the *Republican* and its attitude see W. 77, 80, 81, 86, 91, 92, 96, 111, 150; Jackson's letter is printed in Stevens, *Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 731-732; "Lincoln's lop-eared Dutch" is an expression used by Sample Orr, their friend, in a speech made in the State Convention, July, 1861.

should be unseated. During the March session, Delegate Turner of Laclede county declared in debate that he had been accused of trying to "interfere with the functions of the officers of the State," and of being "in favor of ousting them out of the office."

On June 27, 1861, Shackleford himself wrote to Leonard, then confined to his home:

Dear Sir: The Convention will doubtless be called together soon, and an important question will arise as to the power of the Convention in regard to amending the constitution so as to declare the offices of Gov. etc. vacant and ordering a new election. Judge Gamble was not clear—at least he had not made up his opinion while we were in session in regard to the power of the Convention acting upon matters not contemplated in the Act of the Legislature authorising the Convention. Will you be so kind as to give me the benefit of your opinion on the subject together with such references as you may see proper? I desire to have the benefit of all the information I can get on the subject and I trust I am not asking too much of you. If you prefer I will come down and see you at such time as you may suggest.⁴¹

Folded with Shackleford's letter as it lay in his file, a portion of the copy of Leonard's writing on the subject has been preserved. The tone of the document suggests that it was addressed to one of large influence; there is no more natural assumption than that Shackleford came the necessary few miles to see Leonard at Fayette, and that Leonard wrote directly to Gamble, his lifetime acquaintance and friend:

... off he is. We may I think therefore, dismiss all fear of Jackson and turn our attention to things nearer home. Some union men it seems doubt the policy of the Convention's removing Jackson and appointing a provisional governor in his place until a new election can be held. I confess I cannot see any ground to doubt either the policy or the power of the Convention's so acting. As to the power, the secessionists themselves last winter, when they called the convention, declared that it would represent the sovereignty of the people, and could lawfully do anything the people themselves could do, and that it was not in the power of the legislature to limit their authority to require any act of theirs, taking the state out of the union, to be first submitted to the vote of the people, before it should have effect. But now these same modest fellows, (who don't stick at anything) say the convention cannot remove a governor, who, having

⁴¹*Journal, State Convention*, March, 1861, p. 30; *Proceedings*, March, 1861, pp. 50-52; *G. C.* 51.

committed treason against the United States, and incited neighbor to shoot neighbor, without any pretence of law for his doing, has left the state to get ruffians from abroad to come here to kill and murder men who voted for him six months hence—out upon such men—they care not what they assert and say anything they think will promote their purpose without the least regard in the world to its truth.

But enough as to the power. Now why hesitate about exercising it, because the secessionists try to raise an outcry against it, as of course they would do if they thought the measure would damage their cause, and the more damaging to them the louder would be the noise they would make. The Union men now have the Federal government to back them, and if they have the state government in their hands also, what is to prevent the restoration of peace to the state, and when they may lawfully take it why hesitate about doing it? . . .

I trust the convention will act promptly in this business, and if they fail to remove Jackson, they will have thrown away, in my judgment, the most efficient means of crushing the rebellion in this state, and restoring peace to us. . . .

Whether the assumption that Gamble received this letter be correct or not, he came to the session of the Convention as an unequivocal exponent of the Convention's power to remove Jackson and other State officials, without submission of the ordinance to popular vote.

The committee of seven, selected by the Convention to report "what action is necessary to be taken by this convention in the present condition of affairs in Missouri" comprised: J. O. Broadhead, Leonard's life-long friend and his coadjutor in the fight of 1850-1852 against Jackson and Clark; Littlebury Hendrick, who, when Leonard could not see to read law for himself, read it to him in the twenties of the nineteenth century; W. A. Hall, who had suggested to Leonard a coalition of Douglas Democrats and the Unionists; Willard P. Hall, his brother, who later as Acting Governor offered to appoint Robert Prewitt as Supreme Judge if Leonard approved; John B. Henderson of Pike county, whose convention address at some points closely resembles Leonard's pre-convention address to the Union men of his district; Joseph Bogy; and William Douglas of Boonville, who for some reason had been Leonard's choice as against his old friend Tompkins. On January 28, 1861, Robert P. Richardson wrote Leonard from Ravenswood, Cooper county:

I should have replied to your letter before this but deferred doing so, hoping that after the county convention I could positively say how the county would go. . . . We think we can elect Mr. Douglas, although he is not very acceptable to a great many of the Union men. Judge Tompkins will oppose him—he will make a great effort to rally to his support all the old-line Whigs of this district.⁴³

Gamble came late to the Convention and was placed on the committee through a resolution offered by John F. Philips, thus making it a committee of eight.

The report of the committee recommended the vacation of the "offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State and Members of the General Assembly." The ordinance contained provision for submission; Gamble and Broadhead fought strongly against this part of the work of their own committee. "And, I say," declared Gamble, "that it requires no submission," and "ended by calling upon the convention to vacate the State offices and vindicate the sovereignty of the State." Broadhead specifically took "the same ground with Judge Gamble." The offices were vacated. Gamble's conviction would not yield his vote to the provision for submission; when that part of the ordinance came up for a vote he left the room. The *Missouri Republican* of July 30, 1861, remarked:

Now the people have a say in the matter. . . . The proposition of the committee of eight goes farther than we proposed.

It had been Leonard's desire that "the people of Missouri, into whose hands this question was now committed, (in the elections to the convention) should take care that that which was intended as a Hartford Convention to hatch treason should be turned into a glorious Union Convention."⁴⁴ The record indicates the measure of realization he enjoyed.

Leonard's patriotism was built first upon the Union and slavery with peace. For the Union he sacrificed his dream of peace. On May 23rd, 1861, he wrote:

⁴³Henderson's speech is in the *Proceedings* of the State Convention, March, 1861, pp. 84-93. Leonard seems to have been much interested in affairs in Pike county. See W. 164. For Richardson's letter, see W. 189.

⁴⁴*Journal, State Convention*, July, 1861, pp. 7-12, 15, 20-22, 129; W. 188; *Proceedings*, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

I . . . think that a crisis is now upon us that requires every loyal citizen of the United States, in Missouri, . . . to uphold the Federal government in this state to the last extremity and with his life if necessary. . . . This is the spirit and substance of the Pike county resolutions. I . . . am willing to act up to them, cost what it may.

I desire also to suggest that a meeting of the men of Howard county who approve of them be held at Fayette. . . . If there are only four men in the county who have the manhood to declare their loyalty to the government, . . . the greater will be the honor of being true to their allegiance under the circumstances.

Five months before he died, the patriot was prepared to stand alone, without peace and without slavery, for the Union. On October 25, 1862, Thomas Shackelford had written him concerning a candidate for the General Assembly, and had suggested as a "ticket" that "Missouri is destined to be a free state" and that "it is for the interest of Missouri to inaugurate *now* the system of gradual emancipation." Leonard answered October 27, 1862. It is the last political letter in his file:

. . . Of course we are committed and cannot do anything for anyone else. I know Col. Davis to be an out and out Union man, without any *ifs or conditions*, and although a proslavery man . . . I am satisfied that he would not hesitate to *throw slavery overboard to save the Union*, & under all the circumstances I thought he was the best man we could run & I am still satisfied with that opinion.

No record of the last five months of Leonard's life survives in his files. A fragment in the handwriting of Nathaniel, his brother, dated March 22nd, 1863, reads:

My dear Niece: I am pleased to hear that your father is no worse, and if there is any change it is for the better.⁴⁴

Six days later Leonard passed away.

The resolutions of respect passed by the Howard County Bar on the first day of the June term of the circuit court, 1863, lamented Leonard's death as that of one of "the most learned and distinguished members of the legal profession in Missouri." The *Macon Gazette* remarked his unusual ability as a lawyer, his clear-headed statesmanship, and his enthu-

⁴⁴W. 193, 257; G. C. 57. Leonard's call for a meeting of Howard county Union men is addressed, "Mr. Editor."

siasm for the Union. The *Missouri Statesman* declared, "He has erected his own monument." The *Missouri Republican* remarked that he had few equals and no superior at the Bar. The United States courts sitting in St. Louis were informed by official deputation of his passing. Eastern papers took notice of his death. There was apparently no public comment on his political activities. If these pages seem to have re-created him with less of common clay than belongs ordinarily to men, the limitations of the record must be remembered.⁴⁵

Leonard is buried in the Fayette cemetery, beneath a shaft of handsome Italian marble erected by his wife.⁴⁶ Thirty-two years later, according to the inscription it bears, the same plot received her body.

Human lives and experiences are curiously reciprocal and interwoven. Leonard's life could not be fully written or adequately interpreted without the lives of such men as Hamilton R. Gamble, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, John C. Richardson, Peyton R. Hayden, Benjamin Tompkins, James S. Rollins, Thomas Hart Benton, with others, and Claiborne F. Jackson. Leonard and Jackson are the symbols of those conflicting currents of social and political pressure that made Missouri in logic and in fact a border state. If it be true, therefore, that the mantle of generous judgment and sympathetic understanding may well rest upon a man of such conviction, and yet as amiable, gentle and courteous as Claiborne F. Jackson, it is also true that the influence and leadership of Abiel Leonard in Missouri, merit rescue from the oblivion of musty letters to a permanent place in the records of Missouri's history. The comment of the *Missouri Republican* upon his life is a judgment corroborated by his files:

"Few such men appear in a single generation."⁴⁷

(The End.)

⁴⁵G. C. 104, Howard County Bar resolutions; *Gazette*, April 8, 1863; *Statesman*, April 10, 1863; *Republican*, April 4, 1863; Eastern papers, letter from Samuel T. Glover to Nathaniel, Leonard's brother, "Ap'l, 1863"; *Courts, Republican*, April 4, 1863.

⁴⁶G. C. 57.

⁴⁷Issue of April 4, 1863.

JOSEPH B. McCULLAGH

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

FOURTEENTH ARTICLE

ENDING A RAILROAD STRIKE

Seldom Mr. McCullagh went outside of his editorship to deal with a public affair. One such occasion was when St. Louis was in the throes of a railroad strike. The time was the summer of 1894. The strike had gone on for weeks. M. F. Elliot was at the head of it. To Elliot Mr. McCullagh suggested that, as "the struggle of the men was manifestly hopeless and growing more desperate, something should be done to care for the strikers who had wives and children depending on them." Elliot replied that the strike was progressing finely. He did not let the men know of the editor's proposal to extend his good offices toward a settlement until ten days after the offer was made. He was called to Chicago by his superior, Mr. Scanlan. The latter took immediate action. The strikers' committee was called together and for the first time, told of what had passed between the editor of the *Globe-Democrat* and their leader, Elliot. The committee went immediately to the *Globe-Democrat* office and put the case of the strikers in Mr. McCullagh's hands with full power to represent them. Lists of the men who had struck, showing who had families, who were single, who were in distress were submitted. Mr. McCullagh agreed to do all he could to secure the best possible terms for the men who were out and who had committed no violence.

It was a difficult situation. The railroad managers believed they had broken the backbone of the strike. On Mr. McCullagh's invitation President Boyd of the Merchants' Exchange, Samuel Cupples, I. W. Morton, H. C. Haarstick, and W. H. Gays met in the library of the *Globe-Democrat* "to talk over the strike situation informally and to endeavor to find some way of putting an end to the trouble in St. Louis."

Mr. McCullagh called attention to the form of clearance which was being given the men who had struck.

This is to certify that.....quit work when the strike was inaugurated. His work and conduct up to the time he quit was satisfactory. The only thing that debars him from re-employment is his failure to remain loyal to the company when the strike was declared on.

J. F. Jones,
Terminal Superintendent.

Mr. McCullagh said he thought it was improper and probably illegal to put a bar upon any man as these "clearances" certainly did. The men were branded as strikers and the discharge was practically a request to other railroads not to employ them. It was a kind of a reversed boycott and he wholly opposed anything of the sort. He thought it was proper to ask Mr. Gays to use his good offices with the railroad companies to modify the wording of the discharges so that a man who had not broken the laws of the land, but who had merely gone out upon a foolish strike should not be prevented from getting work.

The meeting in the *Globe-Democrat* library, after thorough consideration, resulted in the adoption of Mr. McCullagh's plan to make the appeal to the railroad managers through Mr. Gays, to whom were given the lists of the strikers by Mr. McCullagh.

Three points in his short campaign to end the strike, Mr. McCullagh pressed. His exposure of the unfairness of the so-called "clearances" aroused public sentiment. The railroad managers acknowledged the mistake and receded from their position. The second point made clear to the strikers that they had been misled by their leader Elliot in that he had withheld from them the movement of the editor to help them. And the third point was the appeal for sympathy toward the suffering families of the strikers. It was a newspaper man's sense of a senseless situation.

The night following the meeting in the *Globe-Democrat* library the strikers met, received a telegram from Debs in Chicago telling them to call off the strike. The formal resolution was adopted. The executive committee called at the

Globe-Democrat office and gave the resolution to Mr. McCullagh. The next day Mr. Gays met the strikers' committee, obtained from them information as to the families which were destitute, took up the matter with the railroad managers and that was the end of the troubled weeks in the St. Louis railroad conditions of the summer of 1894.

WHEN THE EDITOR RELAXED

Newspaper work was not a "horrid grind" with Mr. McCullagh. Measured by the clock the hours might be many, but continuous interest in the news field saved them from monotony. And, furthermore, the Irish humor was a never failing gift. The reader of the *Globe-Democrat* in those years found no more satisfying relaxation than did the writer in such as this, which Mr. McCullagh wrote for Christmas Day, 1886:

The Divine command, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth," is evidently, in the office of our esteemed contemporary, the *Post-Dispatch*, translated from the original Greek with an amendment making an exception in favor of the dissemination of turkeys. It is true that the Scriptural injunction relates strictly to alms, while the turkeys are intended as so many substantial but inexpensive tokens of esteem from an appreciative employer to his faithful employees. It is undoubtedly this wide distinction which prompts our contemporary to depart from its usual rule of modesty, and to convert an act of frugal munificence—we use this phrase after a careful study of the market price of turkeys as compared with other articles—into an important part of the news of the day, given to the world not once but twice—an introductory overture on Thursday and an actual performance on Friday. As Macbeth says:

"Two truths are told
As happy prologue to the swelling act
Of the imperial theme."

The coming event is cast in majestic shadow in Thursday's *Post-Dispatch* in this way:

"The annual distribution of turkeys to the employes of the *Post-Dispatch* from the proprietor, Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, will take place tomorrow at the Provident bank building which is now the property of the Dispatch Publishing company. The place has been fitted up, and 250 large fat turkeys will be distributed, every employe becoming the recipient of a typical expression of the employer's good will as in former years."

Just why Mr. Pulitzer should honor the domestic turkey by selecting it as the typical expression of his generosity—in preference for instance

to the goose or duck—we are unable to say. We certainly know of no instance in history in which the turkey, whether fat or lean, has been thus exalted above his feathery fellows, into a type of the true, the beautiful and the good, as in this case. But we linger on the threshold. The event, which is foreshadowed on Thursday, is at much greater length declared an accomplished fact in Friday's issue, in an article entitled "Christmas Turkeys, Mr. Pulitzer's annual gift to the attaches of the *Post-Dispatch*," which opens thus:

"All the employes of the *Post-Dispatch* were presented with a Christmas turkey to-day."

A first glance at the above is somewhat discouraging. It leads to the impression that a solitary turkey sufficed as the "typical expression" of Mr. Pulitzer's generosity to 250 employes. Further on, however, we learn that there was a turkey for each instead of a turkey for all—twelve barrels of birds in fact—and that to each bird was attached a tag bearing the compliments of the giver. "Careful discrimination," we are informed, "was used in the distribution of the turkeys." This announcement is supplemented by an explanation that the number of people in a family was carefully considered, and that the size of the turkey was, in each case, proportioned to the size of the family. We cannot indorse this kind of discrimination as of the best. The line should have been drawn on appetites rather than on numbers. Some families of three will consume more turkey than other families of six. In cases of this kind, however, it is cruel to be critical. The fact remains that the annual distribution of turkeys to the *Post-Dispatch* employes has again thrown a ripple of sunshine upon a dark and cheerless world, and that Mr. Pulitzer's newspaper has once more paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Pulitzer's generosity.

Referring to a paragraph of complimentary nature in the *Post-Dispatch*, the *Globe-Democrat* said:

Thanks for the above kind notice. But please don't use that abominable word "gotten" in any paragraph in which you mention the *Globe-Democrat*.

To this the *Post-Dispatch* retorted:

"Gotten" is not an abominable word; it is good English, and we cannot consent to discredit it at the request of an editor who uses the expression "native-born Senators."

Mr. McCullagh came back:

"Gotten" is, as Polonius says, of "beautified" a vile phrase. It is a rudish effort to be hypergrammatical. As well say "has hadden" as "has gotten" for "has got." The expression "native-born Senators" is strictly correct, rendered necessary for the sake of contradistinction to "foreign-born Senators." The Constitution of the United States declares that

"no person except a natural-born citizen" shall be President. "Natural-born" is here synonymous with "native-born," having the same Latin root in natus.

The beginning of this philological controversy was back a couple of days when the *Post-Dispatch* printed this editorial paragraph:

Colonel Ignatz Kappner, business director of the *Post-Dispatch*, was pleasantly reminded of the flight of time which brought him to his fifty-ninth birthday by a basket of beautiful flowers sent him by the Michel Plant and Seed company to-day.

Upon this construction of a sentence Mr. McCullagh commented:

To be brought to one's fifty-ninth birthday "by a basket of beautiful flowers" is an Arcadian experience for which Ponce de Leon would undoubtedly have abandoned his search for the fountain of perpetual youth. Indeed youth loses all its attractiveness, and age sheds most of its burdens, when one can come within hailing distance of the sixties by "a basket of beautiful flowers" instead of the slow progress of the gray and grizzling years. We congratulate Col. Kappner on the extreme felicity of his lot in life. May he live long and prosper, treading for at least half a century more the noiseless and newsless tenor of his way in lotus-land of evening journalism. May the "beautiful basket of flowers" by which he was brought to his fifty-ninth birthday swell to a high-arched bower of roses to help him on to his sixty-ninth anniversary and a decade farther on may a whole conservatory of blooming lillies and blushing amaranths enable him to laugh to scorn the Psalmist's utmost limit of human life.

(To be continued)

MISSOURIANA

John Hardeman's Garden
The Devil in Missouri
Early River Craft
Rolla in War Time
Topics in Missouri History
Advertisements in the Pioneer Press

JOHN HARDEMAN'S GARDEN

On what was almost the extreme frontier of the United States, in a place that had only a few years before been a profound wilderness, John Hardeman established an experimental garden that was one of the outstanding show-places of early Missouri. Although there can be no doubt that Hardeman's Garden was one of the wonders of Missouri history, there has been comparatively little known about the man, or the agricultural venture which he created.

Hardeman's Garden, as it came to be known to Missourians, was located on the north bank of the Missouri river, about five miles above the site of old Franklin, nearly opposite the mouth of the Lamine river. It was a part of a large tract of land which Hardeman purchased in Howard county.

Most of the accounts of Hardeman's Garden say that it was a plot of ten acres, famous for its shell walks, varied plants, fruits, vines, and ornamental shrubbery. According to Hardeman's own statement, however, his garden for small vines and fruits, evidently the same as that usually designated as the Garden, was eleven acres.

Apparently the botanical garden was laid out in 1819 or 1820. At any rate, by the latter part of 1822 it was large enough and important enough to attract the attention of the Missouri Senator, Thomas Hart Benton. The Missouri statesman wrote to Hardeman requesting him to give an account of his garden, and to send him specimen plants from it. This Hardeman did, and his letter, dated at Franklin on November 24, 1822, may be found reprinted from the

National Intelligencer in the *Missouri Intelligencer* of Franklin on June 10, 1823. Although some writers claim that Hardeman was the author of books on agriculture, this letter is the only thing by him which the present writer has found.

From Hardeman's letter, we find that his garden for small vines and fruits contained eleven acres. The letter does not give extensive information about what is called "Hardeman's Garden", but it gives an excellent resume of Hardeman's agricultural experiments and his extensive observations. During the 1822 season, Hardeman raised about 1,200 pounds of cotton per acre on his farm. He recalls an experiment with raising corn, in which he brought two generations of corn to maturity within a period of four months and ten days.

In the bottoms near his home, Hardeman reported trees that rose ninety-five feet in height, and a half-mile from his place there was a sycamore tree forty-three feet in circumference. At the time of writing, Hardeman was rearing a number of trees for shade, including catalpa, black locust, Balm of Gilead, white mulberry, sweet cherry, tulip poplar, and sycamore. Among his annual plants were black, white and ruffle mustard, Palma Christi, asparagus, salmon and white summer radish, hemp stalk, turnips, squashes, citron melons, and Jerusalem artichokes.

In his vineyard, Hardeman reported, not only was there the native grape, but imported vines. Most of the six or eight hundred plants in his vineyard were of European kinds, Hardeman wrote. He intended the following year to conduct an experiment to see if cultivation improved the native grape. Interesting measurements, showing the great size attained by many of the local plants and trees, accompanied Hardeman's account.

The letter also indicates that Hardeman was a neighbor and friend of the famous Dr. John Sappington, and that he knew General Thomas A. Smith, who then lived at Franklin.

It is unfortunate that such a flowering wilderness failed to last. But the relentless flow of the Missouri river ate away the rich bottom on which Hardeman had made his garden. A large part of the garden, apparently, was swept

away in the flood of 1826, but Hardeman cultivated some of it even after that. By 1837, however, a writer recorded that only a neglected corner of the garden, and a section of unpruned orchard, marked the spot.

But what of John Hardeman, himself, whom Senator Benton characterized as "a gentleman of science, character, and fortune, greatly attached to the pursuits of agriculture" Strange tales were told about Hardeman, and because so little was known about him, many of them were believed. But most of them are untrue.

It was said that Hardeman was of German origin, that he had written a book in German, and that he had been a south sea pirate, but these stories were denied by one of his grand-daughters. According to the late Miss Julia Dunnica of Glasgow, grand-daughter of John Hardeman, he was born in America in 1776, and was of English descent. Miss Dunnica did not say where Hardeman was born, but one account indicates that he was a native of North Carolina.

That Hardeman and his family lived at one time in Tennessee is almost certain, for the letter mentioned above makes such an allusion and one of his sons, John Locke Hardeman, was born in that State on July 27, 1809. Apparently the family moved to Missouri in 1819, settling in the famed Boon's Lick country, where John Hardeman developed his remarkable botanical garden.

That John Hardeman was a man of wealth, refinement and culture is affirmed by nearly all sources. The fact that he purchased a large tract of land in Howard county would indicate that he was a man of some wealth. He is claimed to have been a graduate of Princeton University, although the University records do not verify this statement. The nature and extent of his agricultural experiments certainly indicate a man of scientific inclinations, while the letter cited above shows that he must indeed have been a man of considerably more education than the average of his time and locality.

The personal records of John Hardeman are very scant, but a few facts have been ascertained concerning his family. The son, John Locke Hardeman, mentioned above, came with his father to Missouri in 1819. The son became a resident

of Saline county about 1830, and lived near Arrow Rock. In 1854, he served in the Missouri General Assembly. He was never married, and died July 31, 1858. A village in Saline county bears his name to this day.

Another son was the late Dr. Glenn O. Hardeman, a prominent physician of Marshall. Leona H. Hardeman was a daughter of John Hardeman, and she was born, apparently in Missouri, about 1823. Leona Hardeman married William Franklin Dunnica in 1860, and they had three daughters, one of whom was the late Julia Dunnica of Glasgow.

According to the statement of his grand-daughter, John Hardeman died in 1828. Several other sources, however, state that the year was 1829. Family sources do not show where the Missouri botanist died, but one account indicates that he died in New Orleans.

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THE DEVIL IN MISSOURI

Strange things call for strange names, and it is often the Devil who has his name taken to designate some particular locality. In Missouri, there are a number of unusual geological formations, which bear in some form the name of the Devil. There are probably others besides those given here, but they include the better known ones.

Two places in Missouri are known by the name of the Devil's Den. One of them, now generally known as Marvel

Cave, is located near Notch in Stone county; it is a mammoth curiosity visited by many tourists each year. The other Devil's Den is located near Rogersville in Webster county, about fourteen miles southwest of Marshfield. This place comprises a two-acre lake at the bottom of a great hole with perpendicular sides.

A most necessary object for its name-sake is the Devil's Ice Box, a natural depression in the ground at the bottom of which is an underground stream. It is located about six miles southeast of Columbia, in Boone county.

Near Arcadia in Iron county there is a passage-way between two mammoth rocks, large enough for a road. This is called the Devil's Toll-Gate.

The Devil has two tea tables in Missouri. One of them is a large, flat rock on the Des Moines river, five or six miles from Revere in Clark county, Missouri. Another Devil's Tea table is a large rock on the bank of the Mississippi River near the mouth of Indian Creek, thirty miles above Cape Girardeau. A large part of this latter formation, however, has been blasted away by railroad workers.

EARLY RIVER CRAFT

Before the steamboat came to western waters, the Mississippi and Missouri rivers were plied by a variety of craft, most of them designed primarily for the fur-trade. There was the primitive canoe or "dugout", perogue, batteau, keelboat, mackinaw, and bullboat.

Lewis and Clark, returning from their great trip of exploration, stopped on September 20, 1806, at the village Charette on the Missouri river, then the western-most settlement in the United States. There the explorers found five trading boats, which William Clark described in his bad spelling in his journal:

"Those boats are from Canada in the batteaux form and wide in perpotion to their length. their length (is) about 30 feet and the width 8 feet & pointed bow and stern, flat bottom and rowing six ores only the Skenackeity (Schenectady) form. those Bottoms are prepared for the

navigation of this river, I beleive them to be the best calculated for the navigation of this river of any which I have Seen. they are wide and flat not Subject to the dangers of the roleing Sands, which larger boats are on this river."

ROLLA IN WAR TIME

America was aflame with civil war when Anthony Trollope, noted English novelist, visited this country in 1861 and 1862. During this visit, Trollope came out West, stopped for a while at St. Louis and made a brief trip to Rolla, which was then the seat of Federal military operations directed toward Southern troops in southwest Missouri. The trip to Rolla was made in the early part of 1862. If Trollope's description of that excursion seems excessively depressed by physical conditions, it should be indicated that the weather must have been particularly disagreeable during his visit, for the author wrote of Missouri as "the most inclement land into which I ever penetrated."

In these words Trollope described his trip to Rolla in war time:

... Fremont had built a fort at Rolla, and it had become a military station. Over 10,000 men had been there at one time, and now General Curtis was to advance from Rolla against Price with something above that number of men. Many of them, however, had already gone on, and others were daily being sent up from St. Louis. Under these circumstances my friend and I, fortified with a letter of introduction to General Curtis, resolved to go and see the army at Rolla.

On our way down by the railway we encountered a young German officer, an aide-de-camp of the Federals, and under his auspices we saw Rolla to advantage. . . . It was dark when we got into Rolla. Everything had been covered with snow, and everywhere the snow was frozen. We had heard that there was an hotel, and that possibly we might get a bedroom there. We were first taken to a wooden building, which we were told was the head-quarters of the army, and in one room we found a colonel with a lot of soldiers loafing about, and in another a provost-marshal attended by a newspaper correspondent. We were received with open arms, and a suggestion was at once made that we were no doubt picking up news for European newspapers. "Air you a son of the Mrs. Trollope?" said the correspondent. "Then, sir, you are an accession to Rolla." . . .

On the following day we visited the camp, going out in an ambulance and returning on horseback. We were accompanied by the General's

aide-de-camp, and also, to our great gratification, by the General's daughter. There had been a hard frost for some nights, but though the cold was very great there was always heat enough in the middle of the day to turn the surface of the ground into glutinous mud; consequently we had all the roughness induced by frost, but none of the usually attendant cleanliness. Indeed, it seemed that in these parts nothing was so dirty as frost. The mud stuck like paste and encompassed everything. We heard that morning that from sixty to seventy baggage-wagons had "broken through," as they called it, and stuck fast near a river in their endeavor to make their way on to Lebanon. We encountered two generals of brigade, General Siegel, a German, and General Ashboth, an Hungarian, both of whom were waiting till the weather should allow them to advance. They were extremely courteous, and warmly invited us to go on with them to Lebanon and Springfield, promising to us such accommodation as they might be able to obtain for themselves. I was much tempted to accept the offer; but I found that day after day might pass before any forward movement was commenced, and that it might be weeks before Springfield or even Lebanon could be reached. It was my wish, moreover, to see what I could of the people, rather than to scrutinize the ways of the army. We dined at the tent of General Ashboth, and afterward rode his horses through the camp back to Rolla. I was greatly taken with this Hungarian gentleman. He was a tall, thin gaunt man of fifty, a pure-blooded Magyar as I was told, who had come from his own country with Kossuth to America. His camp circumstances were not very luxurious, nor was his table very richly spread; but he received us with the ease and courtesy of a gentleman. He showed us his sword, his rifle, his pistols, his chargers, and daguerreotype of a friend he had loved in his own country. They were all the treasures that he carried with him,—over and above a chessboard and a set of chessmen which sorely tempted me to accompany him in his march.

TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

An important phase of the cultural life of Missouri is revealed by these references on "Music and Musicians of Missouri." Just how important music in Missouri has been and still is today, is well shown in the excellent article by Ernst C. Krohn. The Ozarks of Missouri have long been a subject of interest, but never more so than they are today. Their scenic wonders have attracted motorists, and their native peoples have drawn the attention of scholars, while improved highways have made the region quickly accessible. The references on "The Ozarks of Missouri" give extensive information about a section of the State that will undoubtedly

continue to attract the increasing attention of the public. References cited as *Review* indicate *The Missouri Historical Review*, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri.

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ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

Post Roads in 1825.

AN ACT to establish certain Post Roads, and to discontinue others.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of American in Congress assembled, That the following Post Roads be established.

* * * * *

In Missouri.

From New-London, on the Mississippi river¹, by Fayette, to Franklin, on Missouri river.

From St. Louis, by St. Ferdinand², to St. Charles.

That the post road now established, on the south side of the Missouri river, from St. Louis to Boonville, shall pass by the seat of justice of the county of Gasconade.³

* * * * *

From the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 2, 1825.

ATTENTION.

M. GUYOL informs his friends and the public, that he executes *Portraits* in oil colours, also in *Miniature*, and assures an exact refemblance. He paints *Profiles* (a la quarelle) for five dollars, including the frame. *Leffons* given in Architecture, Planimetry, Landcape &c. &c.

M. G. propofes instructing a few young gentlemen in Arithmetic, Geometry, plane and spheric Trigonometry, Algebra, with Drawing, Fortification &c. fo as to prepare them for an entrance into the engineer corps of the United States army.

March 5th, 1812.

From the *Louisiana Gazette*, St. Louis, March 7, 1812.

¹New London, Ralls county, is not located on the Mississippi river.

²St. Ferdinand de Florissant. The postoffice designation now is Florissant, St. Louis county.

³Because of floods, the county seat of Gasconade was moved in 1825 from Gasconade to Bartonville. Bartonville was located on the Gasconade river in Township 43, Range 7 West, in what is now Osage county. The county seat was subsequently moved to Mount Sterling and then to Hermann.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF ST. LOUIS AND ITS VICINITY.

The benefits that would result from a PUBLIC LIBRARY in this town, must be obvious to all; therefore a meeting of all such as may feel disposed to contribute something towards its commencement, is requested, on the 16 instant, at the house of Henry Capron; when it may also be taken into consideration, the propriety of making an arrangement with the Trustees of the Town, so that a room or rooms, proper for the reception and safe keeping of Books, may be finished above the market house; and which may also serve as a Museum for such natural curiosities, as may be offered.

From the *Louisiana Gazette*, St. Louis, February 14, 1811.

NOTICE

A MEETING of the stockholders of the St. Louis Library Company, is requested at the Theatre on Saturday next, the 24th inst. at 4 o'clock P. M. for the purpose of electing five managers for the said Library Company.

Jer. Connor,)
Horatio Cozens,) Com'rs.
Th. Douglass,)

April 19th.

From the *Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser*, St. Louis, April 21, 1819.

THEATRE

Positively the Last Night

FAREWELL BENEFIT OF MR. RILEY.

* * *

Mr. Riley in taking a short leave of his friends of Boonville and its vicinity, cannot but express his sincere acknowledgments to them for the very liberal patronage, and kindness extended to him during his sojourn amongst them, also to announce that as he intends to establish the Drama in this State, that his endeavors shall always be used to their utmost, to merit a continuance of that fostering care, and kind liberality already extended to him since his first arrival in this city.

On Thursday evening, August 15th, 1839, will be presented first time in this place selections from the Comedy of

THREE WEEKS AFTER MARRIAGE.

Sir Charles Racket	Mr. Riley.
Lady Racket	Mrs. Riley.

During the evening

COMIC SONG.....Mrs. Riley.
The celebrated Dance of "HIGHLAND FLING," by Mrs. Riley.
And for the first time here, the new song of

MY FATHER'S LAND

In character of a Tyrolise girl.....Mrs. Riley

The whole to conclude with the laughable Farce of the
ACTRESS OF ALL WORK!

In which Mrs. Riley will personate six different characters.....

Tickets 50 cents. No money taken at the door. Tickets to be had
at the usual places.

All demands against Mr. Riley must be presented *immediately*, as he
leaves town on Friday morning.

From *The Western Emigrant*, Boonville, August 15, 1839.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MISSOURI'S EXHIBIT AT CHICAGO

Missouri was represented at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in 1933 by an exhibit covering more indoor space than that of any other State. It not only well represented the outstanding features of Missouri and its history, but attracted favorable comment from thousands of visitors and was a distinct achievement for the Missouri Century of Progress Commission.

The Missouri exhibit covered three rooms in the Hall of States, and included among its main features an avenue of trees showing fifty-one varieties common to Missouri, a large pictorial relief map of the State, a reproduction of a Missouri cave, a trout stream, a pioneer log cabin, and scenes showing Missouri farms and mines, industries, educational institutions, State parks, capitols, and notable men in Missouri history.

Four views of the exhibit itself were included in the large official souvenir publication of the Missouri exhibit entitled "A Century of Progress of Missouri in Pictures." This book, which was illustrated with some remarkable historical and contemporary pictures of Missouri, was produced under the direction of the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce with the assistance of Floyd C. Shoemaker of the State Historical Society and William L. Nelson. The first part of the book concerned "Missouri of Yesterday," and included reproductions of many rare prints and paintings illustrating the history of the State. On each page appeared a brief historical sketch of some phase of Missouri history, prepared by the State Historical Society. The second part of the publication, called "Missouri of To-Day," presented photographic views of contemporary Missouri, showing cities, the capitol, agricultural and mining scenes, scenic spots, native wild life, highways, schools and colleges, and other features.

LEONARD MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

With this issue of the *Review* ends the series of articles on Abiel Leonard by Frederic A. Culmer. These articles have been largely instrumental in rescuing from almost oblivion the story of Abiel Leonard's influence and leadership in the legal, judicial and political history of Missouri for more than forty years. The success Prof. Culmer has experienced in depicting the career of Abiel Leonard has been due in no small measure to the wealth of source material at his disposal, and research students throughout Missouri will be vitally interested in knowing that the extensive Leonard manuscript collection used by Mr. Culmer has now been deposited in the State Historical Society.

The Leonard collection contains several thousand manuscripts covering in general the period from 1820 until the death of Abiel Leonard in 1863. Letters from men prominent in State and national affairs during that period will be found in the papers of the former Supreme Court judge, lawyer and Whig leader. Other papers concern the history of the early American west, and a number of manuscripts on the Santa Fe Trail are included in the collection.

The State Historical Society acquires the Leonard collection through the public-spirited generosity of Nathaniel W. Leonard, son of Abiel Leonard, Mrs. Jeanette Spencer and R. Perry Spencer, her husband, all of Fayette, Missouri. The letters of Nathaniel Leonard to Abiel, written before Nathaniel came to Missouri, which are also in the collection, are the gift of Nelson Leonard of Ravenswood, Bunceton, Missouri. The collection is one of the most extensive and important ever deposited with the Society.

RARE MARK TWAIN ITEM GIVEN TO THE SOCIETY

One of the most important single items ever added to the extensive Mark Twain collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri was acquired during last November with the purchase of the May 1, 1852, issue of *The Carpet Bag*, a popular weekly magazine published in Boston. The publication contains the first known printed work of Samuel L.

Clemens or Mark Twain, the great American author and native Missourian.

On page six of the magazine appears a short article titled "The Dandy Frightening the Squatter", written for the magazine "by S. L. C." The story tells about a dandy being bested by a "brawny woodsman" at "the now flourishing young city of Hannibal, on the Mississippi river." Sam Clemens was working as a printer in Hannibal when the article was published.

The article in *The Carpet Bag* precedes by slightly more than four months the first previously identified published work of Mark Twain, which appeared in the *Hannibal Journal*, a Missouri newspaper, dated September 9, 1852. The latter item, as well as numerous others appearing in Hannibal newspapers, are a part of the collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri. *The Carpet Bag* article was identified by Franklin J. Meine, prominent author and bibliographer of Chicago, partly through references in early newspapers which showed that the magazine was frequently quoted by Hannibal papers on which young Sam Clemens worked.

The issue of the publication containing the first published writing of Mark Twain was obtained from Goodspeed's Book Shop of Boston. The purchase was made possible through the generosity of George A. Mahan of Hannibal, who is actively interested in maintaining the high rank of the Society's Mark Twain collection. Mr. Mahan is president of the Historical Society.

POLK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

The Polk County Historical Society was organized July 4, 1933, following the suggestion of Judge T. H. B. Dunnegan. Officers elected are: J. M. Leavitt, president; J. C. Edwards, vice-president; W. S. White, secretary; and John Dunnegan, treasurer. The purposes of the Society are to prepare for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the organization of Polk county, in 1935, and to compile data for a history of the county. A constitution and by-laws were adopted

at a meeting in August. Dues are fifty cents per year. Regular meetings are held each month, and an annual meeting is to be held in July. At the September meeting Mrs. May Kennedy McCord addressed the Society. Records of the Society thus far may be found in the *Bolivar Free Press* of July 6, Aug. 17, and Sept. 21, 1933, and the *Bolivar Herald* of July 6, Aug. 10, and Sept. 21, 1933.

THE M. M. MARMADUKE MSS. COLLECTION

A manuscript collection consisting mainly of letters written to former Governor M. M. Marmaduke during the years from 1823 to 1856, has been obtained by the Society from S. J. Cantwell of Nelson, Missouri. Among the items in the collection are letters from Senator Thomas Hart Benton, George C. Sibley, and John J. Lowry. The contents of the 123 manuscripts are both political and personal. M. M. Marmaduke was governor of Missouri in 1844, and the father of General John S. Marmaduke, who also became governor of this State.

RALLS COUNTY MANUSCRIPTS

A collection of Ralls county manuscripts was obtained by the Society in June from William H. Murray of Billings, Montana. The collection, pertaining to early settlers of northeast Missouri, contains twenty-six manuscripts ranging in date from 1812 to 1846.

Among numerous names mentioned in the collection are those of Caldwell, Ely, Scott, Clawson, Ralls, Glascock, Jamison and Carson. Some of the letters are written by, and about, members of the family of Daniel Ralls, who played a dramatic role in the election of Senators Barton and Benton in 1820, and for whom Ralls county is named.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY GRADUATE THESES, 1932-1933, RELATING TO MISSOURI

Master's theses on Missouri subjects accepted by St. Louis University during 1932-1933 include the following:

Concannon, Winifred: *The Problem of Girl Delinquency as Dealt With by Three St. Louis Agencies.*

Cunningham, Marie Catherine: *Jean Nicholas Nicollet: His Part in the Discovery of the True Source of the Mississippi River.*

Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul: *John Baptist Miegé, S. J. (1815-1884), First Vicar-Apostolic of the Indian Territory: A Study in Frontier History.*

Glass, Isaac Irvin: *The Economics of Merchandising Appliances by Public Utilities.*

Halloran, Sister Francis Therese: *Religion Texts in Catholic High Schools, 1890-1900, 1920-1932: A Study of Trends in Textbook Construction.*

Hanratty, Sister Marie Felicite: *A Study of Early Irish Contributors to the Growth of Saint Louis, 1804-1840.*

Henke, Gertrude Clara: *The Provisional Government of Missouri.*

Lanigan, Elizabeth Imelda: *A Discussion of the Contribution Made to the Solution of the Unemployment Problem by the Schools in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area.*

Morris, Irene: *An Experimental Test of a Theoretically Desirable Social Plan With Reference to Out-Patient and Hospital Admissions.*

Nave, Mary Lillian: *Contemporary Missouri Sentiment on Slavery (1858-1859).*

Oefelein, Rosalie Theresa: *A Study of the Mineral Composition and Origin of Loess With Special Reference to the Loess of the St. Louis Area.*

Rauch, Louise: *A Study and Discussion of the Recreational Opportunities for Girls in the Catholic High Schools of St. Louis.*

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI GRADUATE THESES, 1932-1933,
RELATING TO MISSOURI

The doctoral dissertations accepted by the University of Missouri during 1932 and 1933 which are of interest to the Missouri historian are as follows:

Dougherty, James Henry: *Some Facts Concerning the Functioning of the Missouri State Course of Study in Arithmetic.*

Foster, Jay Rhodes: *The Regulation of Public Utilities in Missouri—A Study in State Centralization.*

Ramsey, Calvin Henry: *The Cost of Living and the Economic Status of the Teacher in Missouri.*

Summitt, William Knox: *The Location of Public Junior Colleges in Missouri.*

Taylor, Clyde William: *A Continuous Teacher Accounting System for Missouri.*

Townsend, Loran George: *Some Factors Affecting the Responsibility of the City School Superintendent in Missouri.*

The master's theses accepted during the same time are as follows:

Amburgey, Julia Nichol: *A Study of Buying Habits of Missouri Homemakers With Reference to Their Information Concerning and Their Use of Present Day Market Devices in Buying.*

Amburgey, M. D.: *The Relation Between Cotton Varieties, Yield and Marketing Condition in Pemiscot County, Missouri.*

Angus, James Thomas: *The Attitude of Missouri Toward Slavery From 1850-1860, Especially as Reflected by Her Congressmen.*

Baker, Eula Blythe: *The Disintegration of the Whig Party in Missouri, 1850-1856.*

Bevington, Ethel Elizabeth: *The Legislative Career of Champ Clark.*

Bradshaw, Harold C.: *The Regulation of Life Insurance in Missouri.*

Callaway, Robert P.: *The Missouri Farm Real Estate Situation, 1930-31.*

Carter, Proctor Neal: *Lynch Law and the Press of Missouri.*

Clarenback, Fred: *Economic Implications of the Taxation Controversy in Missouri, 1929-1931.*

Cooper, Lois Lail: *A Study of Local News in the Missouri Weekly From 1821 to 1931.*

Dawes, Marian Elaine: *The Senatorial Career of George Graham Vest.*

Ernst, Ernestine: *A Vocabulary Study of Life on the Mississippi.*

Ezell, Harold Orval: *An Investigation of the Mushroom Pests of Missouri.*

Fox, Paul Edwin: *The Corporation and Securities Departments of Missouri.*

Glaves, Archie Hubbard: *The Practicability of the Combine Harvester in Missouri.*

Gordon, Earl R.: *A Study of the State Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Missouri as a Social Institution.*

Hager, Esther Phillips: *Interpreters of the Mississippi, a Study in American Regionalism.*

Ham, Evelyn Charles: *The Extension of the Frisco Lines.*

Hedges, Bess: *State Aid Railroads in Missouri From 1860 to 1875.*

Hughes, Olin Eugene: *An Analysis of Farm Building Costs.*

Johnson, Bernice Eugenia: *Place-Names in Six of the West Central Counties of Missouri.* (Includes Bates, Cass, Henry, Johnson, St. Clair and Vernon counties.)

Kidd, Florence: *Efforts to Encourage Immigration to Missouri After the Civil War.*

Leech, Esther Gladys: *Place-Names of Six East Central Counties of Missouri.* (Includes Randolph, Monroe, Ralls, Audrain, Pike and Montgomery counties.)

Liston, Margaret: *A Study of Household Production in Urban Families (Columbia, Missouri).*

McCandless, Carl: *The Item Veto Power of the Governor of Missouri.*

Madera, Amelia: *A Vocabulary Study of The Innocents Abroad.*

Moore, Robert Kermit: *The Missouri Farm Real Estate Situation for 1931-32.*

Pruitt, William Macy: *The More Definitely Pro-Southern Groups in Missouri Between August 1860 and March 1861.*

Stalling, Ernest E.: *A Descriptive Survey of Some of the More Recently Established Churches of Columbia.*

Stedman, Florence Potter: *A Vocabulary Study of The Prince and the Pauper.*

Swartzlow, Ruby Johnson: *The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri.*

Taylor, Avera Leolin: *A Vocabulary Study of A Tramp Abroad.*

Utz, Cornelius: *Life in Missouri, 1800-1840, As Pictured in Travellers' Accounts, Letters and Journals.*

Watson, Georgia House: *A Vocabulary Study of Sketches New and Old.*

Webber, E. M.: *A Vocabulary Study of Pudd'nhead Wilson and Those Extraordinary Twins.*

Willis, Maynard Cameron: *The Construction of Railroads in Southeast Missouri.*

ANNIVERSARIES

The 115th anniversary of the Good Hope Baptist Church near Slater, was celebrated in August 1933.—From the *Kansas City Times*, Sept. 1, 1933.

The 114th anniversary of Christ Church Cathedral, 13th and Locust streets, St. Louis, was observed by special services October 29, 1933.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Oct. 30, 1933.

The 109th anniversary of the organization of Tyro Lodge No. 12, A. F. & A. M. was observed October 7, 1933, at Caledonia.—From the *Potosi Independent*, Oct. 12, 1933.

The annual homecoming or "June rise" of New Garden Primitive Baptist Church, in Ray county, was held June 17 and 18, 1933. The church, founded 109 years ago, has customarily held this June meeting for 100 years.—From the *Excelsior Springs Daily Standard*, June 19, 1933.

The centennial of Carrollton and Carroll county was observed October 19-20, 1933. News of the celebration and historical articles concerning the county and its towns may

be found in the Carrollton *Democrat* (weekly) of Oct. 13, 1933, the *Daily Democrat* of Oct. 17, 1933, and the *Republican-Record* of Oct. 20, 1933.

The centennial of Lewis county was celebrated at LaGrange on October 5, 6, and 7, 1933.—From the *LaGrange Indicator*, Oct. 11, 1933.

The 100th anniversary of the founding of Morgan county was celebrated at Versailles during October 26-28, 1933. The county was organized Jan. 5, 1833.

The 100th anniversary of the founding of old Westport, now within the limits of Kansas City, will be observed by the Harris Home Association in a public program September 2 and 3, 1933.—From the *Kansas City Journal Post*, Aug. 27, 1933.

The 100th anniversary of Mount Horeb Baptist Church occurred August 3, 1933. A historical sketch of the church written by Rev. R. E. McQuie and Deacon Joe W. Tate appears in the *Montgomery City Standard*, September 1, 1933.

Members of the Kinkead family from many states will attend a reunion in Warsaw, Mo., September 3, 1933, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the coming of Milton Kinkead to Benton county.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Aug. 31, 1933.

The 90th anniversary of the Concordia Methodist Episcopal Church was celebrated September 10, 1933, and a pamphlet containing the history of the church was published.

The 86th anniversary of the Barnesville Presbyterian Church, in Clinton county, was celebrated November 12, 1933. It was organized June 14, 1847 as the Crooked River Presbyterian Church, the name being changed in the 1870s.—From the *Kansas City Star*, Nov. 13, 1933.

Anniversaries scheduled for the week of October 22-28, 1933, by St. Louis churches are as follows: eighty-fifth anniversary of St. Paul's Evangelical Church; eightieth anniversary of St. John's Evangelical Church; sixty-fifth anniversary of Christ Lutheran, and also the Zion Evangelical Church; and the fiftieth anniversary of the Second United Presbyterian Church.—From the *St. Louis Star and Times*, Oct. 21, 1933.

The 80th anniversary of Antioch Christian Church, in Clay county, was celebrated October 16, 1933. A lengthy sketch of the church and its founder, Moses E. Lard, based largely on his own writings, appears in the *Kansas City Times*, Oct. 16, 1933.

The 80th anniversary of the First Christian Church at Trenton, Mo., will be observed Nov. 5, 1933.—From the *Kansas City Times*, Nov. 2, 1933.

The diamond jubilee of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, the mother Episcopal church in the Kansas City diocese, will be celebrated Oct. 3, 1933.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, Oct. 3, 1933.

The California *Democrat*, which was established in 1858, observed its seventy-fifth anniversary August 24, 1933. This is Moniteau county's oldest newspaper, and fortunately an almost complete file of the paper from its beginning is preserved by the editor.

The 50th anniversary of the founding of the Doniphan *Prospect-News* was observed by the issue of Oct. 26, 1933. A historical sketch of the paper is given in this number.

The 50th anniversary of Tarkio College, at Tarkio, Mo., was celebrated September 27, 1933.—From the *Kansas City Times*, Sept. 28, 1933.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Portraits and biographical records of the five former U. S. judges of the Western District of Missouri will be presented to the federal court in Kansas City at a dinner to be held September 30, 1933. The judges are: James Hawkins Peck (1790-1836), Robert William Wells (1795-1864), Arnold Krekel (1815-1888), John Finis Philips (1834-1919), and Arba Seymour Van Valkenburgh (1862-).—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, Sept. 17, 1933.

A panel of portraits of twenty-one regular and six special judges of the Independence division of the Jackson county circuit court, who have served since its establishment March 29, 1827, was unveiled at the courthouse in Independence, November 4, 1933. A five-minute tribute was paid to each of these judges by their descendants and members of the bar. The presentation was made by Hon. Elmer N. Powell, of Kansas City, who presided during the ceremonies, and acceptance was by Judge C. Jasper Bell and Hon. Robert T. Sermon. The occasion commemorated the 106th anniversary of the Jackson county court.

Memorial services for the late Governor Herbert S. Hadley will be held in Kansas City, November 14, by the Young Men's Republican Club of Jackson county. A portrait of the former governor will be presented to the club by his family.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, Oct. 29, 1933.

A monument erected to the memory of John H. Morse, pioneer hard-road builder of Jefferson county, was unveiled at Hillsboro, Sept. 2, 1933. He founded the town of Morse Mill, and organized "The House Spring-Big River Valley Macadam & Gravel Road Company," and in 1867 began construction of the present Gravois Road.—From the *Maplewood News-Champion*, Sept. 8, 1933.

A bronze tablet in memory of the colonists and pioneers who settled in western Missouri will be unveiled in the Jackson county courthouse, in Independence, Oct. 24, 1933, by the state society of the Daughters of the American Colonists.—From the *Kansas City Times*, Oct. 24, 1933.

A portrait of the late Mrs. Carolyn Wheeler Crittenden, wife of Missouri's former governor, drawn by J. W. Orth, is to be hung in the Governor's Mansion, in Jefferson City, November 12, 1933, by Mrs. Guy B. Park.—From the *Kansas City Star*, Nov. 10, 1933.

NOTES

Dr. Max A. Goldstein, founder and director of the Central Institute for the Deaf, has been presented with the St. Louis Award for 1932-33, in recognition of his achievements and research during the last forty years dealing with problems of deafness. The award consists of a certificate and \$1,000 in cash. Dr. Goldstein will donate the cash award to the Central Institute for the Deaf.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Nov. 4, 1933.

Mr. George A. Mahan, of Hannibal, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, represented this Society and made a short address at the dedication of New Salem Lincoln Memorial Park near Petersburg, Illinois, October 26, 1933. Governor Henry Horner, of Illinois, and other notable persons were present.—From the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, Oct. 27, 1933.

The first of a series of addresses on the subject, "Historical Sketches of Missouri," was broadcast over station WDAF, Kansas City, on October 5, 1933, under the auspices of the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution.

Eugene Field manuscripts and first editions in the collection of the late Charles P. Senter, of St. Louis, were sold

in New York on October 25. A first edition and presentation copy of the *Tribune Primer* sold for \$1100.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Oct. 26, 1933.

Probably for the first time in the history of Missouri a woman today served as a circuit court judge. Mrs. Gladys Stewart, lawyer, was selected special judge of the Douglas County Circuit Court at Ava when Judge Robert L. Gideon of Forsyth was unable to attend. Until recently Mrs. Stewart had served as an assistant United States District attorney in Kansas City.—From the *Kansas City Times*, Nov. 7, 1933.

E. W. Kemble, who drew the illustrations for several of Mark Twain's books, died recently at his home in Ridgefield, Conn., at the age of seventy-three.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 26, 1933.

Mr. Rollen J. Windrow, who was one of the chief planners of the present Missouri highway system, died at his home in Dallas, Texas, on October 30, 1933.—From the *Kansas City Star*, Oct. 30, 1933.

Samuel A. Novinger, 83, president of the Novinger Bank for thirty years, and founder of the town of Novinger, died at his home in Kirksville, Nov. 9, 1933.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Nov. 11, 1933.

The Ste. Genevieve Library and Museum is to be opened October 29, 1933.—From the Ste. Genevieve *Fair Play*, Oct. 28, 1933.

A six-story brick building, built in Camden, Mo., in 1843, and used for years as a hotel during the steamboat era, has been destroyed by fire.—From the *Lexington Intelligencer*, July 21, 1933.

Sixteen flickering lights constituted the formal introduction of electric lights to Kansas City, on Mar. 23, 1881. They were installed in the store of G. Y. Smith & Co.—From the *Kansas City Star*, Oct. 1, 1933.

An inscription hammered into the side of a cliff at the mouth of Westwater canyon in Utah by Antoine Robidoux, of the old Missouri family, is pictured in the *Kansas City Star*, August 6, 1933. It reads: "Antoine Robidoux passed here November 13, 1837, to establish a trading house on the river Green or White." (This is the translation from his original French.)

The First Baptist Church of Palmyra held a social and pageant of progress, August 3, 1933. The pageant was historical and depicted the early settlement and subsequent development of Marion county and Palmyra.

About 150 members of the Mormon church of Utah, including members of the women's auxiliaries of the Latter Day Saints' church, will make a tour, by bus, of the localities in western Missouri which are associated with the early history of their church. They will visit points in Kansas City, Mount Washington, Sugar Creek, Wayne City Landing, Liberty, Fishing River, Excelsior Springs, and Richmond.—From the *Kansas City Star*, July 27, 1933.

The Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace held its third international convention in Washington, D. C., November 17 and 18, 1933. This institution was created and promulgated by Nicholas Roerich for the protection of the treasures of human genius, and provides that all sites and work of cultural significance shall be deemed neutral by all nations and, as such, shall be respected in times of war or peace. To insure this, museums, universities, churches, libraries, special collections and other cultural monuments are to be marked by the Banner of Peace as a sign of their inviolability. In practice the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace has for its precedent the Red Cross.

The remarkable career of Dr. William Beaumont, pioneer St. Louisan, and scientific pioneer in the study of the physiology of digestion, is reviewed in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat Sunday Magazine*, Nov. 12, 1933. The memorials already erected in his honor, those planned for the future, and the location of his scientific papers and manuscripts are discussed also.

Some data about the early settlers and early towns of Livingston county, originally compiled by William Heriford many years ago, appear in the Chillicothe *Daily Constitution-Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1933.

A historical sketch of Birmingham, once a thriving town in Clay county, appears in the Kansas City *Journal-Post*, Nov. 5, 1933.

A historical sketch of the first St. Vincent de Paul Society in St. Louis, organized nearly eighty-eight years ago, appears in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Oct. 29, 1933.

The Civil war diary of the late Captain John P. Quesenberry, of Richmond, Missouri, with its first entry dated Dec. 10, 1861, began publication in the Richmond *Missourian* of August 3, 1933.

The first installment of the early history of Moberly, written by Nora McKinsey Deskin, appears in the Moberly *Message* of Sept. 23, 1933. The first lot sale was held Sept. 27, 1866, although some attempt at settlement had been made earlier.

"Traditional Beliefs of the Hill People," by May Stafford Hilburn, the first of a series of three articles on this subject, appears in the Jefferson City, *Missouri Magazine*, of September, 1933.

A series of letters written during the Civil war by the father and uncle of Mr. Edwin Duemler, and by John William Linder, are being printed by the Union *Republican-Tribune*, beginning in the issue of July 28, 1933. The letters are owned by Mr. Edwin Duemler, of Lone Dell, Mo. His father was a member of Company F, 17th Regiment of Missouri Volunteers.

The Denny homestead in St. Louis county, built in 1865, is described in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat Magazine* of Aug. 6, 1933.

A special historical edition of the Independence *Examiner* appeared September 4, 1933, in honor of the dedication of the new Jackson county courthouse September 7. The issue contains sketches of all the former courthouses and much general history of the county, the city of Independence, and biographical data of former and present citizens.

A historical sketch of St. Paul's College, at Concordia, which has been in operation fifty years, appears in the Kansas City *Times* of July 6, 1933.

A brief historical sketch of the Lexington Public Library and Historical Association, which was organized March 31, 1924, including a list of its officers, appears in the Liberty, *Missouri Club Woman*, of June 1933.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A need which has been growing more pressing with each successive year will be filled this coming spring on the publication of a one-volume index covering the first twenty-five volumes of *The Missouri Historical Review*. The index has been carefully compiled by members of the Columbia Library Club and publication of the work is being undertaken by the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Approximately 50,000 references are included in the index, and the publication will be invaluable to persons and

libraries owning complete or partial sets of the *Review*. The index will also open an extensive and valuable field to the research worker in Missouri history.

The 325-page index will be published by the photo offset printing process and will be bound in paper covers similar to those on regular issues of the *Review*. Only a limited edition of the work will be published, and the "pre-publication" price has been set at five dollars.

Any person or institution desiring a copy of the Index may reserve one by writing Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, and inclosing a check for five dollars.

No future history of St. Louis will be well-written without reference to the autobiography of Rolla Wells which was published at St. Louis in 1933 under the title of *Episodes of My Life*. The book deals intimately with many phases of the political, social and economic history of the Missouri metropolis.

Rolla Wells has viewed the moving life of St. Louis from an advantageous position. As "World's Fair" mayor of St. Louis, one of the first original governors of the Federal Reserve Bank, receiver of the United Railways Company and holder of other important positions, he has played an important part in noted affairs. The book is crowded with interesting accounts of such things as the St. Louis Fair, of which Wells was president for three years, early transportation in St. Louis, early theater history, and rare stories such as the one telling how Milton Turner won the appointment as minister to Liberia. Noted personalities also crowd the pages of Mr. Wells' book, and the reader gets glimpses of such persons as Prince Henry of Prussia, Mark Twain, William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, for whom Mr. Wells was campaign treasurer. The book is an important and interesting addition to the records of Missouri.

Adventure of Living, by J. Breckenridge Ellis, though mainly an account of this Missouri author's career, abounds in shrewd and humorous comment on matters which are now history, but were a part of the youthful experiences of the writer. (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.)

Breckenridge Ellis, born near Hannibal in 1870, spent his early childhood in St. Louis in a three-story brick home at 1706 Chestnut Street. He recalls that his family and their next-door neighbors "used to talk back and forth from the doorsteps in the dusk and perhaps for five minutes at a stretch no one would turn the corner." Some of his earliest memories are of his uncle, General E. R. S. Canby, who was shot down under a flag of truce while carrying out President Grant's orders to proceed, unarmed, to a peace parley with the Modoc Indians. When General Sherman and General Hancock visited the Ellis family after Canby's military funeral, they were regarded by young Breck as "the Enemy," because they had been on the "wrong side" during the war. But his childish faith in General Canby, also on the "wrong side," gave him the impression "that he who used to carry me on his shoulder had fought us as gently as he could."

Mr. Ellis mentions that his mother's interest in the early training of her own boys associated her with Susan E. Blow and William T. Harris "when the kindergarten was a new force in St. Louis." His father, a scholarly lawyer and minister, in 1878 became president of Woodland College at Independence, and in 1880 chartered Plattsburg College. In 1900 he went to head Central Christian College at Albany. A pioneer in the Chautauqua movement, the elder Ellis established local chautauquas at Pertle Springs and Maysville.

Adventure of Living revivifies these and other chapters of Missouri history since 1870 by indicating the participation in them or reaction to them of a genuinely cultured family. The book is dedicated to the author's mother, Sallie Breck-

enridge Ellis, now ninety years old.¹—Reviewed by Miss Catherine Cranmer, Warrensburg, Missouri.

A History of Miller County, Missouri, by Gerard Schultz, is more than just a history of a Missouri county. It is an example of careful research applied to the field of local history. The book was published by the Midland Printing Company of Jefferson City in 1933.

This history of Miller county is brief but adequate. In its 176 pages, the publication reveals the main features of county history without undue verbiage. Original county records, newspapers and personal interviews are the sources on which the book is based. The author has successfully separated pure historical facts from legend and hearsay. As the last extensive history of Miller county was the one published in 1889, Mr. Schultz's book records many important events which have taken place since then. Miller county is fortunate in being the subject of such a workmanlike history.

A World war publication of interest to Missouri is the *Pictorial History of the 35th Division* published at St. Louis in 1933 by Robert L. Carter. The book contains a brief written history of the Division, but the major part of the work is composed of photographs showing the unit at various times in its existence from Camp Doniphan, France and the Argonne offensive, back to Missouri. Most of the photographs were furnished by the United States Signal Corps.

Much material that concerns horse-breeding in Missouri is contained in *Famous Saddle Horses and Distinguished Horsemen*, a book by Jack Harrison published at St. Louis in 1933 under the editorship of William Rufus Jackson. Although the book traces the history of the American saddle horse in general, much attention is given to such Missouri events as the St. Louis Fair, early county fairs, and State fairs, where famous horses were exhibited. One feature of the work is a history of that great champion, Rex McDonald.

¹Mrs. Sallie Breckenridge Ellis died after this review was written. Her death occurred at Granite, Oklahoma, on December 4, 1933.

Extensive material on "Distinguished Horsemen" contains data on many Missourians. Numerous illustrations add interest to the 448-page publication, and complete indexes of both persons and saddle horses give added value to the work.

The Population of Missouri: A General Survey of Its Sources, Changes, and Present Composition, by Henry J. Burt, was published by the University of Missouri, as Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 188. This is a Bulletin of considerable historical value because of its presentation of census figures and their analysis. Immigration into Missouri is considered from the standpoint of national migration, and also as an internal movement with some discussion of the factors influencing both. Emigration from the State is also shown. The nativity of Missouri's population for the various decades, the changes in size of incorporated places, and an analysis of the population in 1930, present an interesting field for study.

Stories of Outdoor Science, by Lewis M. Dougan, Principal of Eugene Field School, St. Louis, (Lyons & Carnahan; Chicago & New York, 1933) is a volume of short studies of the world out of doors as observed in the Mississippi valley and especially in Missouri. It is intended as a text book for use in the upper elementary grades and in junior high schools, and its broad scope will adapt it for use in a wide area. Chapters on geography, trees and shrubs, animal life, bird life, and astronomy present many apt illustrations of the romance and beauty of Nature. This interesting volume will quicken and stimulate the observation of its readers. Illustrations are by A. O. Leutheusser.

"Mountain Men—Andrew W. Sublette," by LeRoy R. Hafen, in the *Colorado Magazine* of September, 1933, contains data on another of the famous fur traders who for a time lived in Missouri.

"The Chouteaus and Their Commercial Enterprises," Part I, by Harriette Johnson Westbrook, appears in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, June, 1933. This article concerns the St. Louis family and their work.

A brief biographical sketch of Philip L. Edwards, who was a member of Jason Lee's missionary party to Oregon in 1834, appears in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* of July 1933. Edwards lived for a time in Old Franklin, Mo., before going to Oregon. Upon returning to Missouri he was elected to the House of Representatives, from Ray county, then practiced law for a few years before going to California.

PERSONALS

SAM A. BAKER: Born in Wayne county, Mo., Nov. 7, 1874; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Sept. 16, 1933. Early in life he worked as a wood cutter, railroad section hand and grocery clerk. Later he taught in country schools, then served as high school principal at Joplin, and as school superintendent in Jefferson City. In November 1918 he was elected State superintendent of schools, an office he held for four years. In November 1924 he was elected governor of Missouri, being the thirty-seventh governor of the State. He was at one time president of the Missouri State Teachers' Association.

EDWARD H. BAUMANN: Born in St. Louis, Mo., June 29, 1865; died in St. Louis, Mo., July 15, 1933. He served St. Louis as senator in the 43d and 44th General Assemblies. He was clerk of the Board of Freeholders which sought to unite St. Louis city and St. Louis county in 1926. During the past twenty years he had been in the insurance business.

JOHN WESLEY BOOTH: Born in Franklin county, Mo., Jan. 15, 1845; died in Union, Mo., July 30, 1933. In 1862 he joined the Confederate army. He was admitted to the bar in 1869, then during 1874-77 was prosecuting attorney of Franklin county. He served in the 30th and 34th General Assemblies, as representative. In July 1900 he was appointed circuit judge and served until 1902.

FRANKLIN FERRIS: Born in Peru, N. Y. Sept. 22, 1849; died in LaJolla, Cal., Nov. 10, 1933. He was a member of the St. Louis city council during 1893-97, and was circuit judge there in 1898-1903. During 1911-12 he served an appointive term on the Missouri Supreme bench. He had lived in LaJolla for five years.

FRED GRAF: Born in Paris; died in St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 15, 1933. He photographed and drew pictures of the wreckage of the St. Louis tornado in 1896. In 1918 he became an artist for the City Plan Commission, and made visualized drawings of proposed civic improvements in St. Louis and twenty other cities.

BENJAMIN HODGE: Born in England, Dec. 23, 1812; died in Poplar Bluff, Mo., Oct. 2, 1933. He came to the United States at the age of six. During the Civil war he served under General Sterling Price. He was believed to have been the oldest white man in the United States.

CLARENCE O. HOUSTON: Born in Chariton county, Mo., Apr. 6, 1854; died near Prairie Hill, Mo., June 9, 1933. He was assessor of Chariton county during 1906-10, and was representative in the 49th, 50th, and 51st General Assemblies, during 1917-1921.

JOHN A. LEE: Born in Henderson, Ky.; died in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 24, 1933 at the age of 83. He moved to Keytesville in 1875 and later was county clerk for sixteen years. He then went to Jefferson City and held positions in the offices of the State auditor and State treasurer. During 1916-20 he was supervisor of the State Building and Loan Bureau.

A. STANFORD LYON: Born in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 24, 1887; died in Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 19, 1933. After being graduated from the universities of Missouri and Michigan he entered the practice of law in Kansas City. He was active in charitable work. In 1926 he was elected judge of the 16th circuit to fill an unexpired term, and was reelected in 1928.

SIDNEY CICERO MAHANEY: Born in Washington, Mo., about 1863; died in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 17, 1933. From 1881 until December 1932 he was in the employ of the Missouri

Pacific Railroad, serving at Barretts, Maplewood, and Enon. He was elected representative in the General Assembly from Moniteau county and served during the regular session in 1933.

HARVEY GILMER MUDD: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 29, 1857; died in Boston, Mass., Aug. 16, 1933. He studied in Washington University and St. Louis Medical School, then studied abroad. He returned to St. Louis in 1887 and specialized in surgery. In 1899 he became chief surgeon at St. Luke's Hospital, and taught in Washington University. He was consulting surgeon and a director in the Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital.

STEPHEN A. NEWMAN: Born at Bethany, Mo.; died near Miller, Mo., Aug. 18, 1933. He began the practice of medicine at Mount Vernon, and during 1916-20 was superintendent of the State Hospital there. He was mayor of Cassville four terms.

EDWARD EVERETT PORTERFIELD: Born in Berkeley county, Va., (now West Va.) March 29, 1861; died in Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 10, 1933. He was admitted to the bar in Maryland in 1885, and moved to Kansas City in 1886. He was appointed to the circuit bench in 1907 by Gov. Folk, and was reelected continuously thereafter. He founded and presided over the Juvenile Court in Kansas City from 1909 to the date of his death.

EMIL ROEHRIG: Born in Washington, Mo., Apr. 19, 1881; died in Warrenton, Mo., Oct. 9, 1933. He was admitted to the bar in 1905 and was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1907. In 1910 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Warren county, and served seven terms. He was city attorney of Warrenton from 1910 to 1925. In December 1926 he was appointed circuit judge of the 11th circuit.

ARTHUR J. SIMPSON: Born in Springhill, Mo., July 18, 1874; died in Chillicothe, Mo., Oct. 31, 1933. He had lived in Chillicothe since 1887. In 1895 he was graduated from University Medical College of Kansas City, and later studied medicine and surgery in the east and abroad. Dr. and Mrs. Simpson donated the present Simpson Park to the city of Chillicothe.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

NEW LIGHT ON MARK TWAIN'S BOYHOOD

From the *Kansas City Star*, Nov. 8, 1933.

Critics have never stopped fighting over Mark Twain..... What they argue about, and write heatedly over, is the explanation of how Mark Twain became a genius of American literature.

The latest writer to enter the literary war over Mark Twain is Dr. M. M. Brashear, instructor of English at the University of Missouri. The result of Dr. Brashear's work is being published by the University of North Carolina Press in a book called *Mark Twain, Son of Missouri*. The book not only plays havoc with some of the choicest theories of previous critics of the Missouri humorist, but it promises to give Mark Twain critics something to think about for a long time to come.

Dr. Brashear believes there has been altogether too much speculation about Mark Twain and not enough research.

"An example of how mistaken some writers can be," says Miss Brashear, "is the reputation given to Hannibal, where Mark Twain spent his childhood.".... "There is a good deal of evidence that Hannibal in Mark Twain's time had a more distinctly literary atmosphere than many towns in Missouri have today," Miss Brashear says.

In addition to this, the researches of Miss Brashear show that Hannibal in Mark Twain's day had numerous cultural institutions, chief among which were seven churches, at least four schools, four bookstores, and a library which John Clemens, father of Mark Twain, had helped to found.

Moreover, Hannibal was a growing, bustling, frontier town. Minstrels often came there, sometimes showboats pulled up to the wharf for performances, and an occasional balloon ascension or a steamboat launching occurred.

One reason there are so many perplexing theories about Mark Twain is that the author started them himself, Dr. Brashear says. Not only was he a great writer, but he was a master showman, and many of the things he wrote, or said, were exaggerated to gain effect. Many of his statements about his own life cannot be accepted literally for this reason, according to Miss Brashear. Her book is filled with instances in which research has proved that Mark Twain was in error concerning facts of his own life.....

Bernard de Voto, one of the most recent Mark Twain critics, accepts Mark Twain's version of a harsh frontier childhood in Missouri. He says Mark Twain was raised in a "squatter's" civilization. Dr. Brashear repudiates this estimate of Missouri in Mark Twain's time, and politely

intimates that such an opinion shows the Harvard critic doesn't know enough about the Missouri frontier.....

Pioneer life in Missouri, as Dr. Brashear interprets it, was a combination of both southern and western features. It differed from the South principally in the absence of a harsh plantation system, but slave labor made it possible for the settlers to have leisure for cultural pursuits. Mark Twain's own family, the Clemenses, owned slaves.....

"Not only is it erroneous to assume that the Missouri frontier was rough and uncultured in Mark Twain's time, but it is doubtful whether, anywhere in America, there could have been found in the 1840s and 1850s a small section of country more favorable for his start in life than north-east Missouri.".....

One person whose reputation has benefited greatly by Dr. Brashear's interest in Mark Twain's early life is John M. Clemens, the author's father. The critics decided that John Clemens was a failure, and they have been playing football with his reputation ever since. But Dr. Brashear thinks this sport is now definitely over.

Dr. Brashear has found evidence which shows that John M. Clemens, a frontier lawyer, was one of the leading citizens in every community where he lived, because of his ability. This was true both in Tennessee and later in Missouri, where he moved with his family in 1835. At Florida, Mo., where his noted son was born on November 30, 1835, John Clemens was active in organizing a navigation company, a railroad and a school.

At Hannibal, where John Clemens moved his family in 1839, he again became a leader. He was a founder of the first library in the town, a leader in all public affairs, and in his law office were laid the plans for the first railroad completed across Missouri. The critics have generally overlooked these facts about John Clemens and remembered only that when he died, in 1847, he left his family in financial difficulties.....

Dr. Brashear believes the most important period in Mark Twain's life was the years he spent in Hannibal.....

Mark Twain had attained world fame and been in his grave for many years when the files of the Hannibal newspapers on which he worked were discovered, in 1926, in the possession of Miss Nettie A. League of Hannibal. Since then these papers have been deposited with the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia.....

THE WHITE SETTLEMENT, TAMAROA, 1700-1703

From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Nov. 12, 1933.

On a bungalow-type office building of one of the plants of the Laclede Gas Light Company at the junction of the Mississippi river and the River des Peres, within the last week, was placed a marker intended to indicate the site of the first white settlement in Missouri.

The inscription reads, "On this site, 1700 to 1703, stood the Jesuit mission post and French-Indian village of the Kaskaskia, the earliest settlement of whites planted on Missouri soil."

Evidence seeming to indicate a settlement at this spot near the extreme southern limits of St. Louis antedated the one at Ste. Genevieve was found in the archives of Quebec and made public in 1924 by Rev. Gilbert J. Carraghan of St. Louis University. The first name of the settlement was Tamaroa.

There had been Indian camps on the site from time to time before the first white men settled there in the fall of 1700, according to the archives. These men were missionary priests from the Seminary of Quebec. Accompanied by Indians of the Kaskaskia and Tamaroa tribes, they crossed the Mississippi in canoes from the present site of Cahokia, Ill., where they had established a mission a year earlier. Under the direction of the priests a church and several huts were built. In the following months the first settlers were joined by French families, some direct from Canada and some from Cahokia.

The Quebec records name Father Francis Pinet, a Jesuit, as founder of the settlement. He died there August 1, 1702. This was the first recorded death of a white person in Missouri. Tamaroa grew to a population of about 1200, but for some unexplained reason it was abandoned in 1703.

MISSOURI RIVER TRAFFIC IN 1841

From the Columbia *Patriot*, Mar. 19, 1842.

During 1841 there were twenty-six steamboats engaged in the trade of the Missouri river, named and commanded as follows: Shawnee—Clifford; Emilie—Keiser; Col. Woods—Knox; Gen. Leavenworth—White; Bowling Green—Roe; Iatan—Eaton; Platte—Hughes; Pre-Emption—Harris; Thames—Dennis; Omega—Weston; Gen. Brady—Hart; Trapper—Chouteau; Oceana—Miller; Roebuck—Elk; Manhattan—Dohuman; Little Red—Price; Malta—Throckmorton; Lehigh—Pierre; Osage Valley—Young; Gloster—Williams; Amazon—McLean; Mary Tompkins—Beer; Glaucus—Field; Huntsville; Warsaw.

These boats made 312 arrivals and departures at Glasgow during the year, and have been employed in delivering freight and passengers at the various landings and towns from the mouth to the head of navigation for steam.

The Iatan (regular packet) made, during the year, twenty-four regular weekly trips from St. Louis to Glasgow, besides several trips farther up.

During the present season there will be two boats in this line which will regularly leave St. Louis and Glasgow twice a week. The Emilie will also run as a packet upon this river.

The Missouri river, from having been for a long time considered as hardly navigable for keels, is now run upon, night and day, by some of the most splendid—yes, splendid—steamboats upon the western waters; and, although there were five boats engaged in running the trade in '36, there have been for the last two or three years, from twenty-five to thirty, transporting during the year '41 forty-six thousand tons of freight of various

kinds, as near as can be ascertained by the size of the boats and their average freight up and down.

The eleven tobacco stemeries and factories at and in the vicinity of Glasgow furnish a vast amount of freight.

ST. JOSEPH IN 1845

From the *St. Joseph Gazette*, May 9, 1845.

In consideration that the town of St. Joseph is yet quite young, that very little has been written concerning it, that comparatively few persons have visited it, and that this is the first newspaper published here, we will be indulged in writing an article whose object is to let people know what kind of place is our town, and what are its prospects. This article is intended for persons at a distance, and we will suppose that the reader knows nothing whatever of St. Joseph.

St. Joseph is situated on the east bank of the Missouri river, about 575 miles above St. Louis, and about 75 miles by the river above Fort Leavenworth. It is now about twenty months since this place was laid off into town lots: it contains 682 inhabitants: the original proprietor Joseph Robidoux, has sold 316 lots to private individuals: there are twelve large mercantile establishments, three hotels, with a host of mechanics of all trades. As yet there is only one small church, but it is expected that three temples will be erected to the Living God this summer, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, and a Catholic church: several of the buildings are of fine quality, they would do no discredit to St. Louis or Cincinnati. Improvement is now rapidly going on in St. Joseph, and the mechanics all seem engaged. Much, very much trade is done by our merchants, we presume each one does a good business now, notwithstanding several potent causes have operated to curtail trade. Most of the ready money of the farmers has been taken for the last few years to pay for their land, the country is very new, and sufficiently large farms are not yet open, and for the last two years the crops have failed almost entirely. When these things with their immediate effects have passed away, altogether a new aspect of affairs will be presented. There are many circumstances connected with St. Joseph which conspire to make it not only a large but important place. This town is the farthest up on the Missouri river, which is a fact of some importance; it is true that two or three towns have been laid off above us, but it is agreed that all things considered there is not a good town site between this and the Council Bluffs, on this side of the river. The river at this place makes quite a bend; it runs as it were far into the country and turning short round runs back: we are situated on a point of this kind, and the consequence is that a much larger portion of land lies immediately contiguous to us than is generally the case with river towns. For these reasons an extensive scope of country must trade at this point. St. Joseph being the nearest and most convenient, and further the quality of the soil is good, so that the amount of the produce of the country, when its resources shall be fully tested is incalculable. The

character of our citizens generally is decidedly good, they are strictly industrious—energetic; every one seems to feel the necessity of doing something, and does it, so that that class of gentlemen usually called loafers is small; and a favorable opinion of St. Joseph's morals may be drawn from the fact that the disgusting spectacle of a drunken man much less frequently offends the eye than formerly.....

GERMAN COLONIZATION IN LIVINGSTON COUNTY

From the *Chillicothe Spectator*, May 10, 1866.

We had the pleasure of receiving a call from Major Fernando Werner, lately from Germany. Major Werner hails from Saxe Coburg Gotha, or central Germany. The Major came to this country in 1861, after the opening of our war of rebellion, offered his services to the government, and in 1862 he was given a commission by Gov. Morgan, of New York, with the rank of 2d lieutenant, in the 1st New York Artillery. With this commission he went into the field and fought steadily during most of the war. His ability and culture soon made his services valuable, and he was early placed on "daily duty" in the engineer department at Washington, and at length was placed on staff duty. He has served on staff duty with General Wool, General Berry, General Hooker, and lately with General Lee in the Department of Louisiana. He was in Burnside's North Carolina expedition, and General Banks' Louisiana expedition. While in General Banks' expedition he served as chief of cavalry, and was with General Lee, a Union cavalry officer.

Major Werner was severely wounded at Chancellorville, May 3d, 1863, and was mustered out in 1864 with the rank of major. He returned to Europe and has interested a large circle of his friends in the new world, and especially in Missouri, and a considerable colony is now on the way here.

Major Werner returned to this country and has located his colony in this county, south of Utica. He has already purchased a section of land and will purchase more.

The colony now on the way consists of 23 families composed of 65 persons. The heads of families are farmers, mechanics, and wine dressers. Stock raising and wool growing will be their leading pursuits. They will also turn their attention to fruit growing. They are people of education and means. Two brothers among them have large means, and they, with Major Werner, intend to build a woolen factory at Utica. This will be a very important addition to the business of that town.

In the present fall this colony is to be followed by other emigrants to the number of about 60 or 70 families and about three hundred persons. All of these emigrants it is expected will settle in the vicinity of the present colony; they expect to build a town. These emigrants are a valuable addition to the population, and they will add much to the wealth of the county. Their industry, thrift, and frugality will soon add to the prosperity of the section where they settle. They will make the prairies

blossom like the rose, and the busy hum of their industrial pursuits will make new music in our wild savannahs, and ere many years they will be among the wealthiest and most thriving of our citizens. We welcome all such immigrants to our county.

ATTEMPT TO REVIVE COTE SANS DESSEIN

Reprinted from the *Cote Sans Dessein Quid Nunc*, by the *Fulton Missouri Telegraph*, Nov. 23, 1860.

Where is there one who has ever visited this beautiful and picturesque place that has not left it with regret? It has of late years been but a relic of former grandeur. Still in its desolation, it possesses unrivaled charms. It was first settled by a company of French emigrants, attracted no doubt by its romantic situation and its easy access to the neighboring cities and towns. It stands on an eminent tract of land on the north bank of the mighty Missouri, and commands a fine view of the surrounding forest, lofty hills, and the many steamers with which the river is thronged. The French who so appropriately named it "a hill without design," have deserted it; almost entirely nothing remains of them save the inanimate forms of those who are quietly resting in the silent city of the dead, there in a small enclosure in the outskirts of the city they are waiting the call of their Maker, which will raise them to life eternal or endless misery. Cote Sans Dessein is now inhabited by a few energetic and ambitious families who are struggling hard to make it not only what it once was but what it should be—a thriving commercial city. The improvements which have been made during the past few months are truly encouraging: a fine academy has been opened for the education of both sexes. "Cote Hill Institute" is a large fine building, affording ample accommodations for the pupils; it is now in a flourishing condition under the supervision of a Connecticut tutoress, and bids fair to be one of the first institutions of learning in the West. A new street has recently been opened, leading from River street to Main street, which adds much to the convenience of the merchants. A steam saw and grist mill is in constant operation under the superintendent, Mr. Thomas Ferguson. The principal mercantile depot (Mr. S. C. Bennet) stands on the corner of Cote and Main streets, and is as usual doing an extensive business, the constant run of custom keeps four energetic men busily employed. We need not say more, yet we feel that the day is not far distant when our now comparatively small city will be rightly termed the New York of the West.

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